

**Shabbat Shalom**  
 NIS 13, Business Lunch  
**YO SI PEKING**  
 Chinese Restaurants  
 Glatt Kosher Exclusive  
 SHABAT BEGINS ENDS  
 Jerusalem 4:05 p.m. 5:18 p.m.  
 Tel Aviv 4:20 p.m. 5:29 p.m.  
 Ra'anana 4:13 p.m. 5:17 p.m.  
 Reservations:  
 Jerusalem: 5 Shimon Ben Shimon St., Tel. 02-228983  
 Tel Aviv: Nahav Avenue, 73 Oppenheimer St., Tel. 03-421885

# THE JERUSALEM POST

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## Eitan 'forced Pollard to take pay' for spying

By WOLF BLITZER  
 Jerusalem Post Correspondent  
 WASHINGTON - Jonathan Jay Pollard, a former U.S. naval intelligence analyst convicted of espionage for Israel, was pressured to become a paid spy by Rafael Eitan, the veteran Israeli spy master who served as Pollard's overall handler.

According to information from sources close to Pollard and subsequently confirmed by authoritative U.S. and Israeli officials involved in the case, Eitan insisted that Pollard accept money in exchange for sensitive American information. "The money was Eitan's idea, not Pollard's," one source said.

Pollard, now 32 years old, has been an ardent Zionist since high school. During his undergraduate days at Stanford University in California and his graduate studies at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University outside Boston, he often contemplated ally.

He had originally volunteered to

provide Israel with some limited information which he considered to be vital to its national security. This was not all that unusual since Israel, over the years, had often received such help from the U.S.

But the payment of money to Pollard created a different situation. According to the sources, Pollard was initially very reluctant to accept any payment from Israel. His motivation was ideological, not financial.

But Eitan instructed Pollard's first Israeli contact, Air Force Colonel Aviam Sella, then on leave in New York for graduate studies, to insist that Pollard be paid for his services. After repeated prodding, Pollard started to accept the money.

The sources said that Eitan had wanted to "entrap" the young American Jew whose information about Arab military capabilities reportedly proved to be valuable. By pressuring Pollard to accept the money, Eitan would be in a better position to demand that Pollard



Rafi Eitan (Rubinger)

maintain his espionage link with Israel.

In addition, the sources said, the money enabled Eitan to specifically "task" Pollard to obtain certain classified U.S. documents, according to Israeli news.

"Money was a key element," a well-informed source said. "Eitan insisted that Pollard be put on the payroll to guarantee his continued cooperation. It would further tie him

to Israel and make it very difficult, if not impossible, for him to walk away."

It was reported that Pollard's payment started at \$1,500 a month but eventually increased to \$2,500. He was also reimbursed \$10,000 for his first-class travel expenses for a November 1984 trip to Paris where he met Eitan for the first time.

Sella, by then back on active duty in Israel after having established a close personal friendship with Pollard, reportedly also flew to Paris for the meeting. Pollard had come to like and trust Sella.

According to the American press, Eitan wanted the air force officer to come to Paris to reassure Pollard about the entire operation. "It would make Pollard feel more comfortable to have Sella there," an informed source said.

Before leaving the U.S., Sella had introduced Pollard to Yosef Yagur, an Israeli embassy science attaché who also served as Eitan's chief representative in America. Sella in-

formed Pollard that Yagur would become his main contact. Yagur also flew to Paris for the meetings.

Pollard was reportedly joined on the trip by his wife-to-be, Anne Henderson-Pollard. The wives of Eitan, Yagur and Sella were also in Paris for the week-long meetings. They all stayed at one of the most exclusive hotels in the city and dined at the most expensive restaurants. While the men talked "business," the women went shopping and sight-seeing.

Sella was reportedly also instructed by Eitan to purchase an expensive diamond and sapphire ring for Pollard to give to his wife - an indication of Israel's deep gratitude to him.

During the summer of 1985, Pollard and his wife reportedly travelled through Europe and then to Israel for meetings with Eitan. Pollard was reimbursed another \$10,000 in cash.

Later that year, Pollard was reportedly given the number of a fore-

## Arms to Iran for 'political' reasons - U.S.

By WOLF BLITZER  
 Jerusalem Post Correspondent  
 WASHINGTON - President Reagan has confirmed that he authorized the shipment of U.S. arms to Iran. But the president insisted that this was done to try to influence a post-Khomeini power struggle in Iran rather than as a "by-product" of the bigger strategic dialogue.

and we had not made any preparations for contacts with a future regime. The arms were necessary for that."

But he strongly denied that the arms represented "ransom" for the hostages. Discussion of the fate of the hostages with Iran, he said, was merely a "by-product" of the bigger strategic dialogue.

The Wall Street Journal reported yesterday that David Kimche, while still director-general of the Foreign

Ministry, first proposed the idea of swapping U.S. arms to Iran for the release of American hostages in Lebanon.

According to the report, Kimche met with then-national security adviser Robert McFarlane in Washington late in the summer of 1985 and "stressed the need for improved U.S. relations with Iran."

Quoting other participants in the discussions, the newspaper said Kimche suggested that McFarlane contact an Iranian named Manucher Ghorbanifar, who, he said, had "channels" to the Ayatollah Khomeini's designated successor, Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri, and to Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hussein Musavi.

"But Mr. Kimche warned Mr. McFarlane that the Iranians would need some evidence of American good faith and suggested that the U.S. might provide spare parts that Iran needs in its war against Iraq," The Journal said.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Rabin on arms

Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday indirectly confirmed reports that Israel had recently transferred arms to Iran. He said Israel has an obligation to help other countries in their attempt to release hostages. "In any form acceptable to that country," just as Israel would want them to help it in the release of POWs.

Rabin added that "Israel had never sold American arms or arms containing U.S. components without U.S. approval."



Salah Mahmud Hariz (left) and Salah Yusef Hariz (centre) appear in the Ramallah military court yesterday where they were convicted for the murder of bus driver Salomon Hataha. The woman is the mother of one of the men. (Story, page 2) (Rubinger)



Soldiers frisk Arabs in Gaza, where an Ashkelon resident was stabbed on Wednesday. The man was slightly injured in what was the third stabbing of an Israeli in Gaza since the end of September. (Reuter telephoto)

## UK law 'not infringed' in transfer of Vanunu

By BENNY MORRIS and DAVID HOROVITZ  
 Jerusalem Post Correspondents  
 Britain may get Israel's response to its request for "clarifications" in the Vanunu affair today, in advance of a planned debate on the subject in the House of Commons on Tuesday.

The British government said it would make a statement on the matter during the debate.

Officials in Jerusalem said it was "highly improbable" that Israel would disclose how nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu arrived in Israel after selling the story of Israel's alleged atomic secrets to *The Sunday Times*.

Unofficially, British diplomats are giving Israel until lunchtime today to come up with a satisfactory response. After that, they are threatening a "reassessment" of their attitude in the case.

Israel's response was being prepared last night by a team of senior officials in consultation with Prime Minister Shamir and Defence Minister Rabin. It is understood that Foreign Minister Peres did not take part in the consultations as he is in the U.S. and communications between the two countries are regarded as "unsafe."

Israel's response, officials said, would probably stress that no British law had been violated in the way in which Vanunu reached Israel around September 30. But Israel would not explain how Vanunu reached Israel, preferring not to expose the modus operandi.

"Besides, even if we told all, there would be no guarantee that this would end the affair. [Critics] might then argue that this was a pack of lies. There would be no end to it," they said.

The British "adjournment debate" comes at the initiative of Conservative MP Dennis Walters, who has been calling for a full inquiry into the Vanunu affair for several weeks, finding it "impossible to accept that Vanunu left Britain of his own volition."

The debate will naturally put further pressure on the Thatcher government to get to the bottom of the Vanunu affair. The Foreign Office was yesterday still waiting to hear Israel's reply to Ambassador William Squire's approach for clarification, and it is abundantly clear that Whitehall will not be satisfied with Shamir's assurances that no illegal action was perpetrated on British soil.

Jerusalem appears committed to supplying the response before the debate begins in order to ease Thatcher's task in rebutting her critics.

Last Monday, Squire conveyed to Foreign Ministry Political Director-General Yossi Beilin a Foreign Office request to "clarify" the passage in the previous day's cabinet statement on the Vanunu affair.

Squire visited the Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem yesterday but sources said that he discussed European Community issues rather than the Vanunu affair.

## IDF kills two Shi'ites

Post Defence Reporter  
 Two Shi'ite terrorists carrying photographs of the Ayatollah Khomeini were killed in a clash with the IDF in the South Lebanon security zone early yesterday morning, defence sources said.

Their bodies were found north of Hasbaya during searches yesterday. There were no IDF casualties.

Senior army sources told *The Jerusalem Post* that attempts by Shi'ite terrorists to infiltrate the security zone had increased recently, seriously damaging morale in the South Lebanon Army.

Some of the terrorist cells are reportedly composed of local residents, and others are made up of Iranian volunteers backed by Syrians. Most of the pro-Iran terrorist organizations operate from Ba'albek in eastern Lebanon.

Lebanon's mainline Shi'ite Muslim militia, Amal, yesterday offered to swap an Israeli airman for Palestinian and Lebanese jailed in Israel. The renewed offer was made by Akel Haidar, the politburo chief of Amal, which claims it is holding the Israeli navigator whose fighter was downed during an October 16 raid on Palestinian bases in South Lebanon.

## Tough U.S. moves against Syria likely

By WOLF BLITZER  
 Jerusalem Post Correspondent  
 WASHINGTON - The Reagan administration is expected today to announce a series of fresh diplomatic and economic sanctions against Syria. But U.S. officials expressed doubt that the measures would include a full break in diplomatic relations, a step already taken by Britain because of Syria's involvement in the aborted attempt to blow up an El Al airliner in London last April.

The U.S. has withdrawn its ambassador from Damascus but has pointedly refused to sever all diplomatic ties. U.S. officials want to keep the door slightly open in the hope of influencing Syrian behaviour in Lebanon and in winning Syrian cooperation for the release of American hostages there.

Still, the latest U.S. sanctions against Syria are expected to be considerably tougher than those announced earlier this week by the West European Community.

The administration wants to make the announcement in advance of President Reagan's meetings at Camp David over the weekend with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The package of steps was basically agreed last Sunday during a meeting of senior U.S. officials at the home of Secretary of State George Shultz.

The secretary has insisted that Syria was caught "red-handed" in the El Al incident and should be severely punished.

The *New York Times* yesterday quoted State Department officials as saying that the president is likely to approve these steps:

- Cut substantially the size of the U.S. Embassy in Damascus and not send back the American ambassador, as well as limit the size of the Syrian Embassy in Washington proportionately.
- Bar the sale to Syria of spare parts and other equipment for use by Syrian airlines and curb the export of computers and other advanced technology.
- Prohibit American companies from working to enlarge the Syrian oil industry.
- Bar American credits for the import of goods by the Syrians.

It was unlikely that the U.S. would bar all commercial trade with Syria.

## France may let Nakash serve term in Israel

By MENACHEM SHALEV  
 French authorities have agreed in principle that William Nakash should serve his prison sentence in Israel. *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

Justice Minister Avraham Shari secured the agreement in a meeting in Paris last week with his French counterpart. Official confirmation of the agreement is expected to arrive via the French Embassy in Tel Aviv in the near future.

Nakash, whose extradition to France is opposed by a coalition of right-wing and religious elements, was tried in absentia by a French court and sentenced to life imprisonment for the February 1983 murder of an Arab in the town of Besancon.

Shari is currently attempting to push through a law which would enable Israelis convicted abroad to serve their prison sentences in Israel. Such incarceration is not possible under present law.

The Ministerial Legislation Committee this week postponed its deliberations on Shari's proposed law after hearing it sharply denounced by Attorney-General Yosef Harish. At the committee meeting Harish described Nakash as "representing all the worthless trash of the Jewish people."

Nakash was not an Israeli citizen when he took part in the 1983 murder. Under the provisions of Shari's proposed law, which is intended primarily for Israeli criminals, Harish would have to recommend that an exception be made to apply the law to Nakash.

In order to enable Nakash's imprisonment in Israel, Harish would also have to agree to waive the proposed law's stipulation that a prisoner who is to be transferred to an Israeli jail first serve at least one-third of his sentence in the country in which he was tried.

## Hush hush on gold heist

By YORAM GAZIT  
 TEL AVIV - Officials at the Rothschild-owned Israel General Bank were tight-lipped about the theft of a large number of gold ingots from the bank in Tel Aviv yesterday afternoon.

The 2 p.m. heist was apparently executed by two men who were surprised by a bank employee in the safe room, Tel Aviv subdistrict commander Tat-Nitzav Arye Bibi said.

He added that the men had ordered the employee to lie face down while they made their escape.

Police knew surprisingly few details about the crime and bank deputy manager Eli Aran declined to comment on it.

A police source suggested that the bank would not reveal how many one-kilo gold bars were stolen because they had been purchased with illegally obtained currency.

## Second liver transplant patient dies

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
 HAIFA - The Rambam hospital management was yesterday "sorry but not deterred" by the death at noon of the country's second liver transplant patient.

Efthim Schreier, a 59-year-old farmer from Shorash in the Jerusalem corridor, died 18 days after the operation, which had been particularly complicated and had had to be interrupted for 24 hours due to "massive" bleeding and coagulating problems.

Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Almoshino said yesterday that doctors would continue to perform liver transplants despite the recent deaths of the two liver recipients, Israel Radio reported.

"Every pioneering action, especially in medicine, involves great risks. There were many difficulties in developed countries abroad with the first transplants too," she said. Arbeli-Almoshino called to support and encourage the doctors in their work.

Though Schreier's new liver had functioned "satisfactorily" after the operation, his biological systems failed one after the other until he passed away.

Acting Rambam director Dr. Albert Sahnger stressed that, despite the death of both transplant patients - the first was Mira Schichman, 40, who died last Saturday, 17 days after her transplant - Rambam would continue its liver transplant programme. The Health Ministry named Rambam as the country's only centre for the complex operation several months ago.

Members of Schreier's family said they did not regret his undergoing the operation. His son Yehuda said: "After I heard about my father's death, I went to the head of the surgical team, Dr. Yigal Kam, and asked him to continue [carrying out such transplants]."

Referring to criticism of the transplants, he said: "It is not right that people in Israel who do not have any alternative should not be given a chance to try to save their lives."

## The New York Times

WEEKLY REVIEW

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## The weather at major Swissair destinations

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	MIN.	C	F	MAX.	WIND	CLD.
AMSTERDAM	5	13	55	16	Clear	
BRUSSELS	3	15	59	18	Clear	
BUDAPEST	1	15	59	18	Cloudy	
COPENHAGEN	5	12	54	16	Cloudy	
FRANKFURT	1	18	64	21	Cloudy	
GENEVA	1	18	64	21	Cloudy	
Helsinki	-1	27	81	36	Cloudy	
Kobe	11	22	72	25	Clear	
London	11	22	72	25	Clear	
Madrid	4	13	55	16	Cloudy	
Moscow	-1	18	64	21	Cloudy	
Montreal	-1	18	64	21	Cloudy	
New York	-1	18	64	21	Cloudy	
Oslo	-1	18	64	21	Cloudy	
Paris	-1	18	64	21	Cloudy	
Rio de Janeiro	14	27	81	36	Clear	
Sao Paulo	11	22	72	25	Cloudy	
Stockholm	3	15	59	18	Cloudy	
Tokyo	16	22	72	25	Cloudy	
Toronto	-1	18	64	21	Cloudy	
Zurich	2	16	61	20	Cloudy	

\*For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

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## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Clear today and Saturday.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	47	7-12	14
Golan	36	3-14	16
Nahariya	48	7-21	22
Safed	38	4-11	13
Haifa Port	49	9-20	21
Tiberias	51	8-18	21
Nazareth	—	5-17	17
Alula	35	6-20	22
Shomron	34	5-15	17
Tel Aviv	25	10-20	21
B-G Airport	37	6-19	21
Jericho	40	7-21	23
Gaza	44	10-19	21
BeerSheva	46	6-18	21
Eilat	29	11-23	25

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Fink's Restaurant will reopen tomorrow, November 15, at 6 p.m. Reservations: 02-234523.

Two Weizmann Institute scientists were honoured yesterday in a ceremony at the institute campus in Rehovot. Prof. Israel Pecht received the H. Dudley Wright Achievement Prize, while Prof. Michael Eisenbach was the recipient of the H. Dudley Wright Research Award.

Wright, on hand to congratulate the recipients, is a U.S. industrialist and inventor, who founded and now heads the Orbisphere Corporation in Geneva. He is also a member of the Weizmann Institute's Board of Governors.

The annual H.R. Lindner Memorial Lecture, established by Carola and Peter Kleeman of the United Kingdom, was delivered yesterday by Prof. Philip Cohen, F.R.S., F.R.S.E., of the University of Dundee, Scotland. Cohen spoke on the role of Protein Phosphorylation in the Hormonal Control of Cellular Activity.

Yoram Salomon, head of the Hormone Research Department, was in the chair.

Haifa Mayor Arye Gurel will address a joint meeting of the city's Engineers and Maritime clubs at the Engineers Club, at 1 p.m. today. Table reservations by phone, 538268.

## ARRIVALS

The First Alyn-U.S. Mission, under the leadership of Joan and Herbert Mendelson, Mrs. Simone Blum, chairman, Alyn, New York, is among the participants, who are all supporters of the Alyn Orthopedic Hospital.

B'nai B'rith Canada Presidents Mission for meetings with Government and Agency leaders and dedication of the Charles Goldstein B'nai B'rith Family Health Centre in Jerusalem. Mission participants include Harry Bick, national president; Mr. Bick; Frank Dimant, executive vice president; Morris Ficht, treasurer; Mrs. Ficht; Ronnie Roth, Israel chairman; Lou Ronson, B'nai B'rith International; Mrs. Ronson; Ralph Snow, president elect; B'nai B'rith Canada; Mrs. Snow - as well as Arthur Hies, Mr. and Mrs. Bert Mendelson, Mr. and Mrs. Sam Weinberger, and Mr. and Mrs. Hendler.

## DEPARTURES

Sally and Michael Berger, to New York, to be guests of honour at the Emmaus Women of America National Dinner for the Joffe Berger Holocaust Study Centre in Jerusalem.

## Basketball results

Galil Elyon vs. Hapoel Tel Aviv 90-79.  
Maccabi Tel Aviv vs. Hapoel Yerushalayim 104-85.  
Hapoel Haifa vs. Betar Tel Aviv 102-85.  
Elizur Netanya vs. Maccabi Haifa 97-82.  
Hapoel Holon vs. Hapoel Ramat Gan 84-78.  
Maccabi Ramat Gan vs. Hapoel Gvat 88-85.

## New appeal filed in Demjanjuk case

John Demjanjuk's attorney yesterday filed a new appeal to the Supreme Court against the decision to keep the accused war criminal in custody until the end of his trial.

The court rejected attorney Mark O'Connor's first appeal earlier this week because O'Connor had failed to appear for the scheduled hearing. (Iim)

## HOME NEWS

### IN PERSON

BENNY MORRIS

### Elyakim Rubinstein

## From Dayan to Shamir

With the late Moshe Dayan, "you didn't have to be a yes-man. On the contrary, he respected people who would argue with him," recalls Elyakim Rubinstein, the new cabinet secretary. Rubinstein joined the civil service in 1973 to help the legal adviser of the Defence Ministry, Yosef Chikanoover, prepare material for the Agranat Commission inquiry into the defence establishment's failure on the eve of the Yom Kippur War.

That inquiry indirectly led to Dayan's ouster from the Defence Ministry. But in 1977, Dayan returned to the government as foreign minister in the first Likud government. He brought along Rubinstein, who had risen to be deputy legal adviser at the Defence Ministry, as his chief de bureau. "Dayan bubbled over with ideas, and he used his aides as a sounding board," Rubinstein recalls. "He liked to work night and day, and expected the same from his assistants. I remember one Saturday evening he called me and said: 'There are three stars out already, let's start work!'"

He notes that Dayan had few aides and that both he himself and Naftali Lavi, former consul general in New York and also a former aide to Dayan, are religious.

Rubinstein was born in Tel Aviv in 1947, and educated at a religious high school and at the Hebrew University. (He has first degrees in Arabic, Hebrew, and Law, an M.A. in contemporary Jewish studies and an unfinished Ph.D. on Zionism and the Arabs during the 1920s and early 1930s.) He accompanied Dayan through the Camp David and Israel-Egypt peace treaty negotiations of 1977-78, emerging as deputy director general of the Foreign Ministry responsible for relations with Egypt.

He recalls the moment of Sadat's descent from the aircraft at Ben-Gurion Airport in November 1977 as the most memorable in his career. "I shouldn't really have been there, given my [low] rank. But Dayan invited me to join him. It was a moment none of us had dreamed of - even those of us who regarded negotiations with Egypt as a realistic prospect. I rode back from the airport with Dayan and [Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Boutros] Ghali."

He also recalls the moment of the signing of the new defunct Israeli-Lebanese agreement in May 1983 as a memorable moment. As the Foreign Ministry's legal adviser, he had been number 3 in the Israeli delegation. "In retrospect, perhaps our joy and hopes stemming from the agreement were naive. But I still think it had its positive aspects."



Elyakim Rubinstein

It undermined the belief, then quite common in the West, that Israel was in Lebanon for good. It signified, embodied at least a measure of Lebanese acceptance of the Security Zone (in South Lebanon). And it served to boost Israeli-U.S. relations. The strategic cooperation agreement and Israeli participation in the Strategic Defence Initiative soon followed.

Looking back at the Lebanon war, Rubinstein concedes that "certainly not all the objectives were achieved. And Israel's losses were great, a permanent wound. But we must remember that Israel struck a mortal blow at the PLO, from which it hasn't recovered. I don't accept the Vietnam parallel. For us, it is our backyard; Vietnam, for the U.S., was 7,000 miles away. And our failure to create a new Lebanon is essentially a tragedy for Lebanon, not for us. The U.S. now understands our need for a security zone in the south."

Rubinstein, who has lectured at Bar-Ilan University in political science, says he hopes to have "a policy-making input" in the present administration. The cabinet secretaryship involves both "formal" and "non-formal" functions. He intends, "like my predecessors in the job," also to affect policy-making.

He describes his relations with Prime Minister Shamir as "good, there is good chemistry." Rubinstein, who worked with Shamir when the latter was foreign minister in the early 1980s, was serving as political minister at the Israel Embassy in Washington, Shamir, on his last pre-rotation visit to the U.S., offered Rubinstein the cabinet secretaryship - "and I accepted."

## Jerusalem Municipality rapped for 'lukewarm' efforts in Sur Bahir case

# Jews back Arab neighbours in land dispute

BY ELAINE RUTH FLETCHER

A Jerusalem neighbourhood leader yesterday rapped Jerusalem municipal officials for failing to intervene more actively in a dispute between Sur Bahir villagers and the Israel Lands Administration over government plans to create a forest on lands now under village cultivation.

Shalom Amoyal, head of the East Talpiot neighbourhood council, made his remarks after a hearing on the case before the High Court of Justice. The High Court said it will issue a final ruling on the matter on Tuesday if the villagers and the government don't reach an out-of-court settlement beforehand.

Amoyal is one of a number of Jewish residents in the area who has taken the villagers' side in the dispute involving some 500 dunams of land that was expropriated by the state in 1970, but left for village cultivation until last year.

"The municipality sends letters from Teddy [Kollek], and those go into the garbage," Amoyal said, protesting against what he sees as the city's lukewarm efforts to intervene.

The municipality's Arab affairs adviser didn't even show up at yesterday's High Court hearing, Amoyal added. He and other residents fear the move to turn farmland into a forest will sour relations between Jewish and Arab neighbours.

The Jewish National Fund, which will administer the forest, has said it is part of a master plan for Jerusalem and will fill a public need.

Earlier this year, JNF officials met with villagers several times to discuss a possible compromise, such as sharing the land, but Amoyal said the city must play a more active mediating role, particularly before the High Court.

City mediation is crucial, he said, because the villagers cannot take the initiative in

arranging a formal compromise with the JNF and the Israel Lands Administration - for delicate political reasons.

"It's forbidden for them [the villagers] to be partners in a compromise with the Israeli authorities. They would be called traitors if they gave up even one per cent," Amoyal said, expressing a view echoed by the villagers themselves.

Kollek's adviser on Arab affairs, Amir Heshin, vehemently denied that the city had not been sufficiently involved in the dispute.

"The municipality cannot take an active part in this High Court case against the state," Heshin said. But he added that the city had attempted to act as an out-of-court mediator to settle the issue in a way that would enable the villagers to continue cultivating much of the property.

"If they have a practical problem, we're willing to support them. If they have a political

problem, they have to go to court by themselves," Heshin said, adding that he had been "too busy" yesterday to appear at the court hearing.

The 500 dunams in question were left over from a larger 2,240-dunam parcel confiscated from Sur Bahir in 1970 and transformed into East Talpiot.

Sur Bahir villagers have said that it is not right to confiscate the land for a "public need" and then turn it into a forest, if it means taking away a source of livelihood. Wheat, almonds, olives and other crops are now cultivated there.

"This is the second time I would lose," said Tahir Dabash, of the six dunams he now cultivates. "I lost 14 dunams the first time around."

Added another villager, "Now we are like birds inside the crates - all the houses are closed in, and this is our last land."



The four Israeli leftists who were interrogated yesterday on their recent meeting with PLO members in Romania emerge from the Ramle police station. From left to right: Yael Lotan, Reuven Kammer, Latif Dori and Eliezer Feller. (Reuters telephoto)

## Police quiz peace team members

By YORAM GAZIT

TEL AVIV - Four members of the leftist delegation were interrogated yesterday by the police in connection with the possible violation of the law against contacts with officials of a terrorist organization. About a week ago the 21-man delegation met with PLO representatives at a hotel in the port town of Constanza.

On their return to Israel last Friday, four leaders of the delegation were detained.

The four were delegation head Latif Dori (Mapam), Eliezer Feller (Rakach), Reuven Kammer (Shas) and Yael Lotan, who is not affiliated with any political party.

The four were questioned yesterday for three hours at the Ramle police station about their trip to Romania and then released on NIS 500 bail each.

Dori yesterday said he knew from newspaper reports that he would be

questioned by the police if he met with PLO representatives in Romania.

"I was asked dozens of questions about the trip and about the meeting itself and I answered all the questions," Dori told *The Jerusalem Post*.

Kammer, accompanied by an attorney, decided not to answer any questions relating to the trip. He said that he will talk if he is put on trial.

Feller answered some of the questions but refused to identify pictures of Palestinians who had been at the meeting.

Dori told *The Post* that all the delegation members had gone to Romania as individuals and not as representatives of their parties.

He added that because of the trip his relations with Mapam had worsened, and that the party had fired him from his post as director of Arab affairs.

Dori was asked by the police, if he thought he had violated the law by meeting with PLO members. "I answered that I did not violate the law and did not do anything against the security of the State of Israel."

"It was an open meeting, covered by 150 journalists and 30 television crews from all over the world," he concluded.

Dori told *The Post* that he wrote a letter to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir criticizing him for calling the delegation members "traitors" in a speech in Rosh Ha'ayin.

Accusing Shamir of using the word intentionally to influence the case against the four, Dori, in his letter, called on the premier to resign.

Itims adds that Kammer's attorney Tamar Peleg said that she was considering a libel suit against Shamir for his use of the expression "traitors."

## Faisal Husseini on Sharansky:

# 'Great man turned small'

By ELAINE RUTH FLETCHER

Faisal Husseini, caught up in a snowball of publicity over Natan Sharansky's vehement repudiation of their recent meeting, aired his side of the issue yesterday in a press statement in which he described Sharansky as a "great man suddenly turned small."

Husseini met with Sharansky Monday to discuss the case of A-Sha'ab editor Akram Haniye, now facing a deportation order. But Sharansky later said he would never have met Husseini if he had known that he was "identified with the PLO."

Husseini heads the Arab Studies Society in East Jerusalem and is a spokesman for the Jewish-Arab Committee Confronting the Iron Fist. In his statement he said he raised Haniye's case with Sharansky because "I was certain that he would recognize Akram a fellow freedom-lover, despite the differences between them."

"And indeed," he continued, "as I sat and exchanged views with Mr. Sharansky that day, I felt that I was in the presence of a great man, a man who is prepared to look across political and religious borders, and still recognize fellow human beings who are suffering from oppression and injustice."

"But it was a totally different man whom I watched on the television screen, reading out a statement [repudiating the meeting] from a piece of paper in front of him."

"It was a... defeated and frightened Sharansky. What has happened to the man who could resist oppression for more than 20 years? He has to withdraw quickly from obviously human and moral positions? Why, because the free Jewish hero has come to live under occupation, in a system which is not free and which causes harm to the occupiers in the same way it causes harm to the occupied?"

## Likud-Labour booklet row

Jerusalem Post Staff

Another political storm was brewing yesterday between the Likud and the Alignment - this time over a booklet published by the Likud.

MK Rafi Edri, coalition chairman and head of the Alignment Knesset faction, demanded an apology from

the Likud's information department, which was responsible for the publication.

The booklet blasts the Alignment for presenting itself as the saviour of the national economy, and for blaming the Likud for the country's economic and social ills.

## Terrorist gets life

A terrorist who killed an Egged bus driver last April was yesterday sentenced to life imprisonment by the Ramallah military court.

Salah Mohammed Yusuf Hariz, 26, sprayed an Egged bus with automatic fire near the village of Deir Abu Mish'al, northwest of Ramallah. Bus driver Solomon Hatacha was shot in the lung and subsequently died of his wounds.

Another terrorist, Salah Yusuf Ahmed Hariz, was convicted in the same court yesterday of attempting to kill an Israeli truckdriver in December 1984. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison.

Eight men captured at sea in April 1985 while allegedly on their way to carry out an attack in Israel were remanded until the end of their trial yesterday by the Lod military court. The eight had been held in administrative detention since their capture.

The eight - from Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Kuwait and Algeria - were among the 20 men aboard the merchant vessel *Atavrus* when it was intercepted and sunk by an Israeli Navy missile boat.

The eight were pulled out of the water, but the others were lost at sea.

Four of the eight are charged with belonging to Fatah and planning to land in Israel, take over buildings at military headquarters in Tel Aviv, take hostages, and negotiate for the release of Fatah prisoners held by Israel.

## Better social services?

By CHARLES HOFFMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel will be able to provide more and better social services over the next decade at less cost, according to a study prepared by the Centre for Social Policy Studies. The study is to be discussed by senior government officials in the coming weeks.

The study, a projection of future demand for services among various groups of the population, deals mainly with education, health and transfer payments (from National Insurance, pension funds and other sources), which account for 90 per cent of all welfare expenditures.

The group that makes up the country's labour force and pays the taxes that fund social services - people between the ages of 15 and 64 - is expected to grow over the next 10 years, thus providing the money to improve services.

In contrast, the groups that consume the most social services - children and the aged - are not expected to grow. Growth of the elderly population, whose numbers have greatly increased since 1970, will level off in the near future. The percentage of school-age children in the population is expected to decline.

These shifts are expected to lead to a drop in the per capita costs of welfare services. Today, the study notes, each worker has to pay NIS 2,000 a year in taxes for these services. By the end of the next decade, with a greater portion of the population in the work force, it will cost NIS 1,840 per capita to maintain the same level of services.

The study concludes that these trends will permit Israel to cut back services in some areas, such as elementary education, where needs will decrease, and to expand it in others where needs will grow, such as higher education. It will also be possible to concentrate more funds on intensive services for those who can't help themselves, such as the infirm aged, the chronically ill and members of broken families.

## Ya'ari-Granot verdict

TEL AVIV (Iim) - The verdict in the case of Hava Ya'ari and Aviva Granot, who are accused of murdering tourist Mela Melavsky in March 1985, will be handed down in the second half of December, the president of the Tel Aviv District Court announced yesterday.

## Beit Shemesh lock-in

By ROY ISACOWITZ

Post Labour Reporter

TEL AVIV - The 690 employees of the struggling Beit Shemesh Engines plant intend locking themselves in the factory today and tomorrow to protest against the government's decision to appoint a receiver for the firm.

Representatives of the factory's workers, members of the Beit Shemesh labour council and representatives of other factories in the area met at Histadrut headquarters in Tel Aviv yesterday to plan their struggle against closure of the factory.

The action committee decided to ask Prime Minister Shamir to postpone the cabinet discussion on the issue, scheduled for next Sunday. The workers will explain to Shamir that they need more time to formulate their position.

The workers are also planning to invite the entire cabinet to visit the plant to see at first hand what the ramifications of closure would be.

Aliza Tamir, head of the Histadrut's employment committee, has already asked Shamir to receive a delegation of workers.

## IRAN ARMS

(Continued from Page One)

"When Mr. McFarlane said the U.S. couldn't do that," it continued, "Mr. Kimche...asked if the U.S. would continue to sell arms to Israel if the Israelis shipped some weapons to Iran. Mr. McFarlane, according to this account, said the U.S. wouldn't provide Israel with arms to replace shipments to Iran but added that the U.S. would continue its military support to Israel."

It was after that session with Kimche that Reagan assembled his top advisers, including Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defence Casper Weinberger, and assigned McFarlane and his deputy, Lt.-Col. Oliver North, to secretly pursue the effort to open a political dialogue with Iran.

Shultz and Weinberger approved a political opening to Iran but opposed any arms transfers, according to the report.

The administration's contacts with the Iranians eventually led to a one-hour meeting in London last December between McFarlane, Kimche, and Ghorbanifar. *The Journal* said that McFarlane opened the meeting by saying that he was present on behalf of the U.S. government to open a political dialogue with Iranian leaders.

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there will be a memorial service at the Tzur Shalom Cemetery on Wednesday, November 19, 1986, at 3:30 p.m.

The Family



FOREIGN NEWS

# Pretoria denies Soviet charge on Machel's death

FUNCHAL, Madeira. — South African President P.W. Botha yesterday described as propaganda Soviet allegations that South Africa was involved in the plane crash last month which killed Mozambican President Samora Machel, Portuguese radio said.

Soviet Deputy Civil Aviation Minister Ivan Vasin suggested at a news conference in Moscow Wednesday that a powerful radio station in South Africa territory had lured Machel's plane off course towards South Africa where it crashed on October 19.

"A lot of propaganda has been made," Botha, now on a private visit to the Portuguese Atlantic island of Madeira, said when directly questioned about the allegations.

"Eventually, the facts will tell," he added, saying a special board of inquiry including international experts had been set up and was continuing its investigations.

Mozambique and several African nations have implicated South Africa in the crash. Pretoria has denied involvement.

South African Foreign Minister R.F. Botha charged the Soviets with leveling the accusation in order to cover up the inadequacies of Machel's Soviet-built aircraft.

Machel, 53, and 33 others died when the Tupolev 134 crashed in South Africa about 160 kilometres from Maputo. The Soviet flight engineer survived.

The foreign minister said the Tupolev had outdated equipment.

"I really believe this (the Soviet allegation) is an attempt on the Soviet side to hide the inadequacy of their instruments," he said. "The radio equipment aboard still used valves. This is equipment from 20 or 30 years ago."

The Soviet deputy minister said the powerful radio decoy signal lured the plane 35 degrees off course.

He said the crew thought they were making a regular approach to Maputo's airport when the plane slammed into a barren hillside across the border with South Africa.

Last week, South Africa said some of the crew members may have been drinking. The Soviet Aviation Ministry called the charge "a hateful lie."

Portuguese authorities in Lisbon have distanced themselves from the visit by the South Africans, which ends today.

Officials of the semi-autonomous regional government of Madeira have met with the two Bothas for what have been described as private meetings. Over 300,000 Madeirans live in South Africa, more than live in Madeira. (AP, Reuters)

## Chad president says moves under way to end civil war

ABIDJAN (Reuters). — Chad's President Hissene Habre has told Cameroon's official radio that contacts are underway with northern rebel forces of former president Goukouni Oueddei to end the country's civil war.

He also said that Goukouni's forces are "no longer in the service of Libya," which has been the main backer of the rebellion and has large military forces in the rebel area of northern Chad.

The past few weeks have seen confusion mount in northern Chad. The Libyans and various rebel factions have fallen out among themselves and no new alignment has emerged.

Goukouni himself is said by sources including the French government to have been wounded in the Libyan capital, Tripoli, when he tried to evade arrest by Libyan soldiers.

Habre spoke to the official Radio Yaounde Wednesday while passing through Cameroon on his way to a Franco-African summit in Lome, Togo. The latest phase of Chad's 20-year-old civil war is expected to be the major topic at the meeting.

In the interview, monitored by the British Broadcasting Corporation, Habre said:

"I confirm now that Goukouni's forces are no longer in the service of Libya and contacts are under way to make a rapid reconciliation possible."

Habre said the next phase would be the departure of Libyan troops from Chad but said it has no soldiers with Goukouni's forces.

Tripoli acknowledges it has advisers in Chad but says it has no soldiers with Goukouni's forces.

Habre has recently accused Libya of practicing genocide in Chad's desert north.

## Aquino returns from Japan to face new crisis

# Mutilated body of prominent Philippine leftist found

MANILA. — The bullet-riddled body of leftwing leader Rolando Olalia was found last night by his followers, presenting Philippine President Corason Aquino with a major crisis as she returned from a successful four-day visit to Japan.

Officials of the leftist Partido ng Bayan (People's Party) said the body of the 52-year-old lawyer was riddled with bullet and stab wounds.

Olalia disappeared Wednesday night after he attended a meeting of the KMM union, which he also headed. His political party is the largest leftwing party in the country and KMM is the biggest union.

Aquino returned saying she had gone to Japan with hesitation because of "dark rumours" spreading in Manila. She was referring to rumours that a coup was being plotted against her by Defence Minister Juan Ponce Enrile to cleanse the government of left-leaning officials.

Enrile was at the airport to greet her. Olalia had said his 100,000-strong party would mobilize its members in support of the president if an attempt was made to topple the government. The KMM, or May First Movement, has 500,000 members.

Olalia's mutilated body was found about 6 p.m. in a ditch off a highway in northeastern Manila. His hands had been tied behind his back, said the military commander for Rizal province.

Olalia's driver was found about 12 hours earlier along the same road. He also had been bound, shot and stabbed, the commander said.

Peoples Party spokeswoman Daphne Ceniza said the organization planned a mass march today to Camp Aguinaldo to protest against the killings. The facility is the headquarters of the Defence Ministry and Armed Forces Command.

Olalia's son Ronaldo, 27, called on Aquino "to render justice for the murder of my father." He said he suspected members of the military.

Government officials, fearful of a leftist backlash, deplored the killing. Political Affairs Minister Antonio Cuenco said Olalia's death "further aggravates the crisis our government currently faces."

Lean Alejandro, who heads a militant group with links to Olalia's movement, blamed the killings on "key persons in the Enrile faction of the military."

Several leading former Communists are members of the People's Party and it was not immediately known how the government's efforts to reach a cease-fire agreement with guerrillas would be affected by the murder.

The talks are at a critical stage and government negotiators said they



Rolando Olalia

expected to resume the negotiations today to demand an immediate cease-fire in the 17-year-old rebellion that has cost more than 8,000 lives since January last year.

Enrile, speaking to reporters before the bodies were discovered, said "we know nothing" about Olalia's disappearance. The Associated Press telephoned Enrile's home after the bodies were identified, but a maid said the minister was asleep and refused to wake him up.

Rumours circulating in Manila predicted that dissident officers would strike at prominent leftists in an attempt to provoke their followers into demonstrations which would give the military a pretext to seize power. Aquino wound up her state visit to Japan with promises for nearly \$1 billion in financial support for her country.

Finance Minister Jaime Ongpin said loans and grants now signed or being favourably considered by Japanese agencies amounted to 157 billion yen (\$980 m.), some of which had been previously pledged. (Reuters, AP)



British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her husband, Denis, pose with their son, Mark, and his fiancée, 25-year-old Diane Burgdorf, at 10 Downing Street, after announcing the engagement yesterday. Burgdorf is the daughter of a wealthy Dallas car dealer. No date has been set for the wedding. (Reuters telephoto)

## Sandoz offers compensation for pollution of Rhine

BASLE (Reuters). — The Swiss chemical giant Sandoz promised compensation yesterday for the massive pollution of the Rhine River following a fire at one of its warehouses on November 1.

Local officials have joined Switzerland's neighbours in criticizing the company and the Swiss authorities on their handling of the disaster which caused 30 tons of toxic chemicals to spill into the river.

Sandoz technical chief Hans Winkler told reporters at the scene of the accident that the company, one of Switzerland's largest, would pay any justified claims.

"Sandoz and the insurance companies concerned are ready to ensure effective treatment of demands for compensation which we receive," Winkler said.

He said it was too early to mention figures, but added the company had liability insurance "of a level that is normal for the (chemical) industry."

Hans-Peter Sigg, a general manager of Sandoz, said: "We have assumed full and complete moral responsibility."

Environment ministers from France, West Germany, the Netherlands and the European Community told Swiss officials at a meeting in Zurich Wednesday that they expected Switzerland to pay for the damage caused in what has been described as Europe's worst environmental disaster in a decade.

Meanwhile, Basel's regional government has accused Sandoz of gross negligence. (AP, Reuters)

## Amal denies Syria-Israel deal

BEIRUT (AP). — Pro-Syrian Lebanese leaders yesterday rejected charges by PLO chief Yasser Arafat that Syria had agreed to share influence with Israel in Lebanon according to the terms of a U.S.-sponsored accord.

Amal deputy leader Akel Haidar also lashed out at President Amin Gemayel's decision to renew some 70,000 Lebanese passports of Palestinians living abroad, describing the step as "a conspiracy bringing Palestinians into Lebanon."

Arafat made his charges against Syria, and also thanked Gemayel for renewing the Lebanese passports, in a special television interview conducted in Tunis and aired Tuesday. The interview was the first he has given to the Christian-controlled

Lebanese Broadcasting Corp. since he left Beirut in 1982. The broadcasting corporation speaks for the Lebanese Forces, the principal Christian militia in Lebanon and Arafat's onetime fiercest foe. In the interview, he also accused Justice Minister Nabih Berri's Shi'ite Muslim Amal militia of waging a war, at Syria's instructions, against refugee camps in Lebanon in a bid to evict an estimated half-million Palestinians.

Haidar rejected the charge at a news conference yesterday. "It is not true that Amal wants to kill women and children," Haidar said.

He countercharged that Arafat was forging a U.S.-blessed PLO alliance with Lebanon's right-wing

Christians as a prelude for negotiating a peace settlement with Israel.

"This alliance between Lebanon's isolationists (Christians) and the PLO is an American precondition to welcome Arafat at the negotiating table," Haidar said.

He said Palestinians who wanted to fight Israel were welcome to do so from within Amal's ranks.

"But those who want peace with Israel should leave, to the so many capitals that advocate peace in our Arab world," Haidar said.

Arafat claimed the alleged Syrian-Israeli deal was worked out by Robert McFarlane before he resigned his post as U.S. President Reagan's national security adviser in December.

## Soviet family returning to U.S.

MOSCOW (AP). — Members of an emigre family who returned to the Soviet Union three days ago after a decade in the U.S. said yesterday they have changed their minds again because the two teenage children are unhappy.

Faina Gonta said she was informed by the U.S. Embassy that the family would be allowed to leave Saturday on a flight to London.

But she said they have not yet received any tickets and have not been issued their exit visas by Soviet authorities.

Mrs. Gonta and her husband, David, who emigrated from the Ukraine 10 years ago with their two children and her mother, arrived Monday saying that in the U.S., they were "eternal immigrants" and their

children were treated badly by schoolmates.

The event was publicized by the official press as part of a renewed campaign over emigres unhappy in the U.S. The Foreign Ministry telephoned Western journalists Monday, suggesting they meet the Gontas.

But Mrs. Gonta said by telephone yesterday that after three days, they contacted the U.S. Embassy about going back.

"I have nothing against Soviet officials or the Soviet Union," Mrs. Gonta said. "Their hospitality was fine. Everything is fine, except the children. They grew up in the USA and they want to continue their education in America."

The Gontas, who lived in New Jersey, need government permission to leave.

## Majority out of SPD's reach in West German vote

By WLADIMIR STRUMINSKI  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

BONN. — It was hardly an encouraging beginning. As it entered the final, "hot" phase of the election campaign this week, the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) had to admit that its goal of gaining a majority in the Bundestag was unattainable.

National elections are to be held on January 23, and in the German electoral system some 48 per cent of the total vote would be needed to achieve a parliamentary majority, as some votes go to parties which do not make it to the Bundestag. But this is 10 percentage points more than the SPD achieved in the last Bundestag elections in 1983.

Until this week, the SPD has clung to the official aim of winning a majority even though the polls kept indicating that this was virtually impossible. Party chairman Willy Brandt tried to voice his doubts a few months ago saying that 43 per cent would be a success, too, but later denied that he was giving up the majority goal.

Today, many party members may wish that they had never mentioned anything about a majority on the

national level, especially after the Social Democrats suffered crushing defeats in two state elections: in Bavaria last month and in Hamburg last Sunday, with 27.5 per cent of the vote and 41.8 per cent, respectively.

In Hamburg, the SPD lost 9.5 percentage points of the 51.3 per cent majority since 1983, and the Christian Democrats (CDU), which polled 41.9 per cent, surpassed them as the largest party.

In both state elections the leftist-ecological Greens scored impressive gains. They polled 10.4 per cent in Hamburg. Since the SPD rejects coalitions with either the CDU or the Greens, the city may be ungovernable in the future.

The polls indicate that the Social Democrats are likely to win not much over 40 per cent of the vote in the national elections, while the present Christian Democrat-Liberal coalition is expected to pass easily the 50 per cent mark.

After the Hamburg disaster, major turmoil broke out in the SPD. SPD Bundestag floor leader Hans-Jochen Vogel admitted that the chance of his party winning a majority had drifted "farther away." He and Brandt called for the prevention

of a Christian Democratic majority — a far cry from appealing for one of their own.

The SPD also changed its campaign team. The campaign director, party spokesman and its deputy secretary-general, Wolfgang Clement, resigned all his posts after the Hamburg elections, and the secretary-general, Peter Glotz, took over. Johannes Rau, the SPD's candidate for chancellor, also announced that his party's campaign would be streamlined and would seek more contact with citizens.

These recent developments were, however, more than the result of tactical errors. Rather, the SPD's behaviour has been an attempt to break away from a double problem. On one hand, they are incapable of overcoming the ruling coalition by themselves on the campaign issues. On the other hand, the party has decided to reject out of hand any coalition with the Greens, despite the fact that the left wing of the SPD shares many of the Greens' views.

Klaus Liepelt, director of the Infap polling organization said early this week that the electorate's mood was friendly to the Christian-Liberal government despite high unemployment. Large sectors of electorate believe that the economic situation has improved and will go on improving under the present leadership.

The Social Democrats are clearly ahead of the CDU on the issue of bringing about social justice, but this

And, Liepelt said, the SPD has concentrated on issues which are of longer term rather than of immediate urgency, like the abandoning of nuclear energy, while people usually vote on short-term issues.



Johannes Rau

is not enough to win the election. The October poll also found out that not everyone who supported such policies actually identified them as unique SPD ideas.

In addition, many doubts exist about the party's unity. Even though the party platform specifically rejects major left-wing notions like loosening, or severing the link with NATO, many people are aware that there is pressure within the SPD to dissociate West Germany from NATO and from the U.S.

Under left-wing influence the platform does demand, however, the scrapping of the "Star Wars" agreement between Bonn and Washington and efforts to achieve the withdrawal of American Pershing and cruise missiles from West Germany. There seem to be fears in some German military circles that a Social Democratic government would be reluctant to maintain the military strength deemed necessary to fulfil Germany's task within NATO.

Many of the left-wing's positions are anathema to right-wing Social Democrats. They feel that the party is deviating from traditional SPD positions and political philosophy. Right-wing Social Democrats — often party veterans — find themselves increasingly isolated in their local party organizations and have a difficult time at inner-party elections.

Also, the SPD is suffering from the collapse of the trade-union-owned construction conglomerate Neue Heimat which is nearly bankrupt from mismanagement. In a country in which the trade unions, while formally non-partisan, have been traditionally close to the Social Democrats, the Neue Heimat affair will cost the SPD votes.

For most disappointed SPD voters, the way to express their anger is to stay away from the ballot box, rather than to turn to another party. The SPD is trying to counteract this danger, but only the polling day will show how successful this effort has been.

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By DVORAH GETZLER

How does a democracy protect itself against its enemies? According to MK Uzi Landau (Likud), the answer in Israel's case must be: "Aggressively." So that a no-choice situation is created for the enemy. Otherwise, he argues, moderate Palestinians will be pushed into the arms of the extremists. Not only should Palestinian journalist Akram Haniye be expelled, but his paper, *A-Sha'ab*, should also be closed forthwith.

Not so, according to Citizens Rights Movement MK Shulamit Aloni: a democracy cannot exist without the freedom of the press being maintained, she told the Knesset this week, citing the judgement of the High Court Justice Shimon Agranat, in the Communist *Kol Ha'am* case of 1953.

The PLO, argued Landau, in a surprising admission for a right-winger, was "first and foremost a political organization; it has a parliament...a government...a fundraising organization that works in an orderly manner and dispenses funds."

Alas, Israel had concentrated for too long on "the terror war in Judea and Samaria against the PLO's military activities alone."

A virtually free hand had been given to all other PLO activities. The universities had been allowed to operate. The press had been allowed to run wild, so that East Jerusalem had become the international communications centre of the PLO. The educational system, charity organizations, trade unions, theatres, the arts, sports clubs - all had flourished and now formed the basis for the PLO's political activities.

But, said Landau, violence had sprung from all this. And the violence proved that Israel must address itself to and extirpate the political basis of PLO activity.

Haniye was the PLO executive

## Uzi Landau, Shulamit Aloni face off on Akram Haniye

# Left vs. right on the press

within his paper, and a senior one at that. The security authorities had determined that his activities endangered the safety not just of the Jewish residents of the area, but of the Arab population, too.

Former attorney-general Yitzhak Zamir had refrained from applying to the courts because he had held that the law was insufficiently clear. But recently there had been a change. Two Arab newspapers funded by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine had been closed, and their closure had been upheld by the High Court. The security authorities were to be congratulated on having had the courage to take on the courts.

The way in which Hanna Seniora and Faez Abu Rahme - "extremists and representatives of the PLO" - received and distributed funds, went in and out of government offices, met with Americans, and all sort-free, had made VIPs of the two. That was seen by the Arabs "as a legitimization of the PLO. It could not be understood in any other manner."

There was "a minority and a majority within every population...The minority will always be idealistic and faithful to its principles." But the majority was usually prepared to walk the well-trodden path of compromise. A "firm hand" against the transfer of the vast funds - estimated variously at from \$350 million to \$1 billion per annum - brought across the bridges from Jordan would teach the majority to shun all the PLO front organizations - charities, universities and the like. That firm hand would serve as the

alibi for the majority to flourish before the minority in justification of their compromise.

Thus far the outspoken Landau, in a motion for the agenda that spelled out with unusual clarity one attitude to a problem central to both the state and the political conflicts that divide the nation.

Aloni, firmly anchored in the Zionist left-wing, was more concerned with the dangers that such expulsion orders pose for Israel's democracy and its institutions.



Uzi Landau



Shulamit Aloni

## DEBATE OF THE WEEK

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Freedom of the press, she pointed out, was not statutorily protected in Israel. Alas, there was little hope that the present Knesset, under the national unity government, would rectify that situation.

But Agranat had ruled that press freedom was not to imply a state press, a press under the thumb of the government, a press that, while it usually toed the line, could yet be permitted the occasional "naughtiness." Democracy, Agranat had ruled, was to be judged by its toler-

ance of harshly critical opposition views. That ruling of over 30 years ago had served to fight all attempts to curb the freedom of the press.

*A-Sha'ab* appeared in Jerusalem. And that must be stressed, for Jerusalem was part of the State of Israel.

The paper was, indeed, very sharply critical of government policies. Nor was this surprising.

For the paper was written by and for a people living under occupation, who were never pleased with that state. Those deprived of rights were never satisfied to be so deprived.

Hence, *A-Sha'ab's* editor used words that were "very harsh indeed to the ears of any government that aspires to be democratic."

Haniye had committed no crime and could not therefore be brought to trial. All that could be done was to expel him. And expulsion was only possible because he was a resident of Ramallah, a town across the Green Line that did not exist when it came to dealing with the misdeeds of Gush Emunim leader Rabbi Moshe Levinger and his followers.

The legal provisions under which the authorities were trying to expel Haniye were a remnant of the British Mandate and had been termed "and I quote," said Aloni, by Menachem Begin and Ya'acov Shimshon Shapiro, then attorney-general, a "Nazi law" which they had sought to have the first Knesset abrogate.

The law had been amended in 1979 to make it impossible to expel someone from Israel proper. Had Haniye lived in Jerusalem, his expulsion would have been impossible.

Further, Shmuel Tamir, justice minister in 1979, had promised the Knesset plenum and its Law Committee that the amendments would also be applied to the territories.

That promise was in line with an international convention which Israel had ratified: that no person be expelled from homeland and home.

Haniye, it was admitted by all, had taken no part in any terrorist activities. He said he belonged to the Fatah. But who in the territories said otherwise of themselves? Had not Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij and ex-Hebron mayor Mustafa Natshe not said the same; had they not said "We're all Fatah?"

To say, on the one hand, that Israel had ratified the international convention to impress outsiders, and then to claim that the amendments to the "colonialist" Mandatory law had deliberately not been applied to the territories, was nothing but hypocrisy and double talk.

Why, Aloni asked, had the Press Council and the Israel Bar not alerted the public to the danger to a free press?

Had the Mandatory authorities dared to expel a paper's editor for his allegiance to the Zionist leadership, to the Jewish Agency, in the legitimate struggle of a national freedom movement for its rights?

Were we to assume that rights and justice were one thing for us, but something else for others?

Israel could not wage its national struggle by taking advantage of its sovereignty and deciding to silence those "who seek to give expression to their struggle for the same rights that we enjoy," Aloni concluded.

The matter is before the High Court, to which Haniye has appealed and by whose decision Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin told the plenum he would abide.

But the debate within Israel continues and the Knesset this week drew the lines sharply for all to see.

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The matter is before the High Court, to which Haniye has appealed and by whose decision Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin told the plenum he would abide.

But the debate within Israel continues and the Knesset this week drew the lines sharply for all to see.

Further, Shmuel Tamir, justice minister in 1979, had promised the Knesset plenum and its Law Committee that the amendments would also be applied to the territories.

That promise was in line with an international convention which Israel had ratified: that no person be expelled from homeland and home.

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To say, on the one hand, that Israel had ratified the international convention to impress outsiders, and then to claim that the amendments to the "colonialist" Mandatory law had deliberately not been applied to the territories, was nothing but hypocrisy and double talk.

Why, Aloni asked, had the Press Council and the Israel Bar not alerted the public to the danger to a free press?

Had the Mandatory authorities dared to expel a paper's editor for his allegiance to the Zionist leadership, to the Jewish Agency, in the legitimate struggle of a national freedom movement for its rights?

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## Herzog crosses the line

By GREER FAY CASHMAN

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NUKU'ALOFA, Tonga. - If nothing else of historic dimensions emerges from President Chaim Herzog's official visit to South East Asia and the Pacific, the tour at least created a milestone in the annals of the Israel Air Force.

Yesterday, en route from Fiji to Tonga, the last of the Polynesian kingdoms, the president's Israel Air Force plane crossed the international date line. The pilot said it was the first time that such a crossing had been made by an IAF carrier.

Immediately before leaving Fiji, Herzog met with representatives of the newly independent Marshall Islands. Herzog had been officially invited to visit the Marshall Islands, but was too pressed for time to do so.

Instead, Heinkel Balos, the minister for presidential affairs, and Carl Ingram, the presidential adviser, flew to Fiji for talks with Herzog.

The Marshall Islands, which suffered serious damage during American nuclear experiments some 40 years ago, receive \$150 million compensation per annum. The money is used for development purposes.

Balos and Ingram indicated to Herzog that their country was interested in establishing diplomatic relations with Israel pending parliamentary ratification. They also asked for Israeli aid in communications, vocational education, aviation, agricultural training and technological know-how.

Herzog suggested that a Marshall Islands delegation visit Israel. One of Herzog's last official acts in Fiji was to visit the Suva military cemetery, where he laid a wreath.

The cemetery was originally established for Fijian soldiers who fell in battle against the Japanese during World War II. More recently, a special section was set aside for 19 Fijian soldiers who fell in Lebanon, where they had been serving with UNIFIL. Herzog made it a point to pause at each of their graves.

In discussions with Fijian Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Herzog again raised the sensitive issue of an Israeli diplomatic mission in Suva. Mara wants to wait until after Fijians go to the polls next year. Fifteen percent of the electorate are Moslems, and Mara does not want to antagonize them.

Herzog has invited Mara to visit Israel and is confident that he will come once the elections are behind him.

Herzog was invited to Tonga, 14 months ago, when the island's crown prince and foreign minister was in Israel. There is one Israeli living on Tonga and trading in black coral.

Others have been sent in the past by various Israeli authorities to advise on agricultural problems and assist in development. Herzog believes that Israel can supply Tonga not only with know-how and consumer goods, but also with infrastructure.

Herzog admitted to journalists that what had given impetus to a state visit at this time was the growing Libyan influence in the region.

## Geula-Rafal spat won't lead to Tehiya break-up

By ASHER WALLFISH

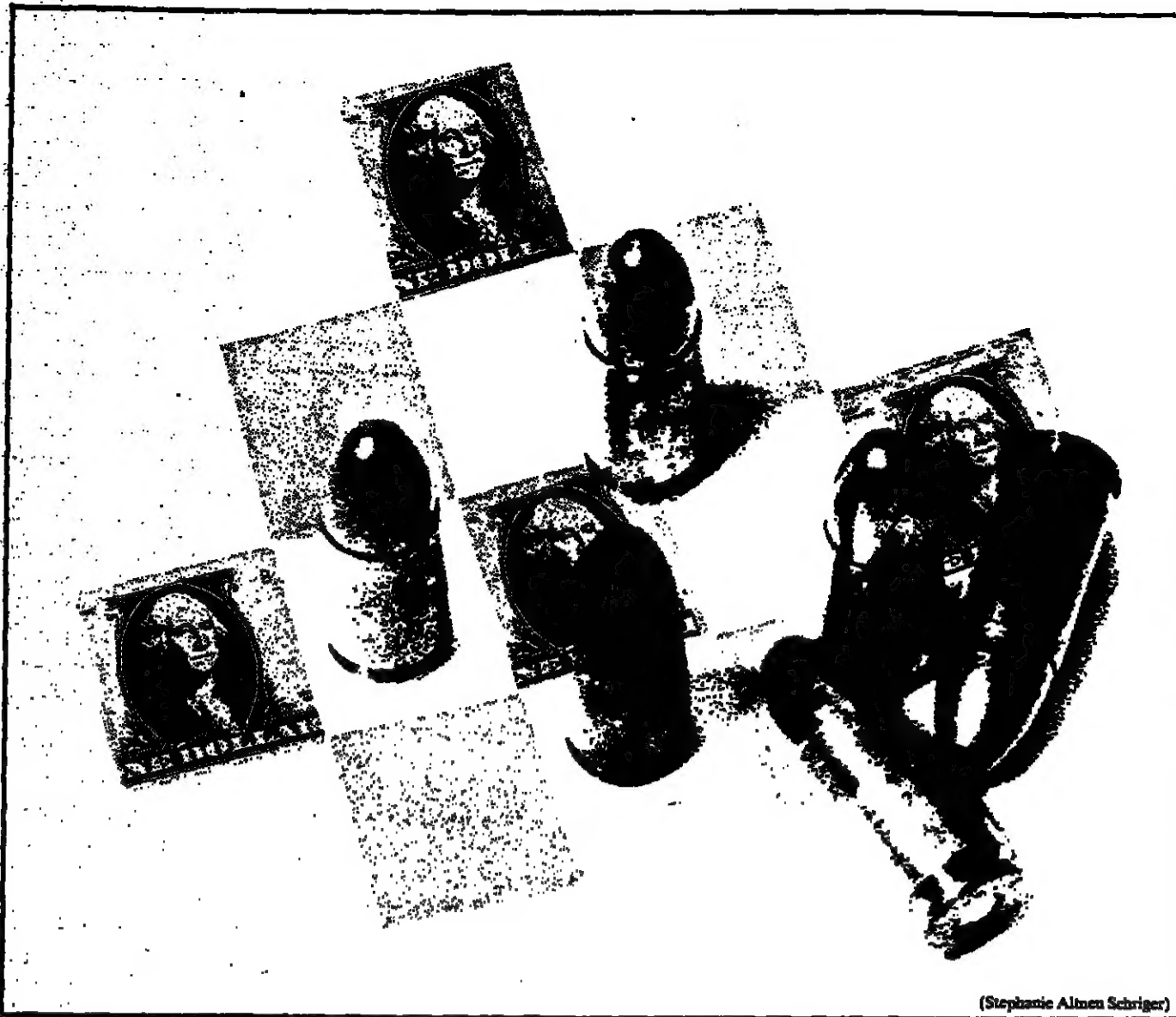
This week



ARGUMENT

# Victim of blackmail

Hirsh Goodman considers why the president of a superpower paid ransom to a terrorist regime



(Stephanie Almon Schirger)

ON THE afternoon that American hostage David Jacobson was released by his Islamic fundamentalist captors in Beirut, we were sitting in the office of a senior White House official in Washington. The official, intimately involved in the formulation of the administration's Middle East policy and a key member of the president's inner circle, shrugged his shoulders when asked about the rumour that Iran had been instrumental in securing Jacobson's release.

"I have seen nothing that would indicate that this was true," he said, adding that if it were, he would have known about it. He was, after all, at the epicentre of America's decision-making apparatus and it was inconceivable that he would not be informed about an administration decision to deal with the Iranians, even covertly.

So convinced was he that the rumours of Iranian involvement were unfounded that in great confidence he expounded his own theory about Hizbullah's decision. Fearful of an Israeli reprisal for last month's attack at the Dung Gate entrance to the Western Wall that killed one person and injured 69, Hizbullah - which had been clearly identified by Israeli authorities as having been responsible for the outrage - released Jacobson in return for American promises to restrain Israel.

"But given all this," the official added, pointing his thumb in the direction of the adjacent executive office building "I must say that I don't know what they may be up to on the 'dark side' of the corridor."

Indeed he did not know. Like the other key presidential advisers, including Secretary of State George Shultz, he had been kept totally in the dark. His advice not sought. The president acted alone, using a channel within the National Security Council so secret that its activities were unknown to even the upper echelon of the NSC.

The net result: undoubtedly the biggest foreign-policy blunder in Ronald Reagan's six years at the White House, the consequences of which will continue to reverberate for months to come.

ALREADY, the president has done incalculable damage to his personal credibility, especially in the context of his avowed policy never to negotiate with terrorists. Not only did he negotiate with terrorists, he sold them arms. Moreover, he did so while exhorting the rest of the world to take huge foreign-policy risks to fight terrorism.

## Toothless fight against terror

DAVID HOROVITZ/London

THE WEST'S much-vaunted anti-terrorism policy lies in tatters this weekend, as both America and France seem to have demonstrated that their repeated "no bargaining" pledges do not find expression in their behind-the-scenes policy making.

Paradoxically, in a week that saw Britain finally persuade its Common Market allies to take sanctions against Syria, the stand against terror has been exposed as a hollow facade, crumbling all too easily to the demands of political expediency.

Britain's forthright action in severing ties with Syria, with a minimum of fuss and delay, has found no echo. As soon as it had conclusive proof of Syrian government involvement in the Hindawi affair, Britain broke off relations and began lobbying for similar measures from its EEC partners.

The British Foreign Office now accepts that "perhaps we wanted a little too much, too soon," but when Sir Geoffrey Howe flew to Luxembourg a fortnight ago, he fully expected his 11 colleagues to provide "appropriate supportive action."

Britain, indeed, did not give its partners much time to consider. Furthermore, fewer than half the EEC foreign ministers were in attendance. But, Britain reasoned, there wasn't really a great deal to debate. Syria had been caught red-

handed sponsoring an attempt to blow 375 innocent people out of the sky. The Old Bailey trial transcripts, together with independent intelligence service evidence, added up to what Howe termed "irrefutable proof."

Not only was there no agreement at Luxembourg, but there was also further embarrassment to follow in London this week.

The British diplomats are putting a brave face on it, of course, but the "smeared" package of "punitive" measures finally accepted is hardly worth the paper it's written on.

The "London talks," as expected, left Greece the odd man out, refusing to endorse a community statement condemning Syria's actions as "completely unacceptable."

The irony of the situation lies in the fact that, despite its refusal to blame Syria for any terrorist action, Greece felt itself able to support the package of four sanctions.

Deputy Foreign Minister Theodore Pangalos explained to bemused reporters that Greece didn't sell arms to Syria, wasn't planning any high-level visits, and already had strict security arrangements for Syrian airline staff, diplomats and officials.

If a country that had no wish to sanction Syria could agree to the punitive measures, those measures could hardly be regarded as significant.

The package was in fact the result of long hours of negotiation among lower-level officials, trying at all cost to come up with something acceptable to all. Inevitably, they settled on the lowest common denominator.

Even the arms clause bans only new weapons deals: if the French have something already in the pipeline, they can press ahead without breaking the agreement.

The Greek attitude represented a personal affront to Howe, no matter how much the Foreign Office tried to disguise this. Pangalos publicly equated Britain's comprehensive dossier, detailing the precise extent of Syria's role in the Hindawi affair, with the rather half-hearted attempt

at a defence distributed by Damascus.

Whitehall sources told *The Jerusalem Post* that the Damascus defence was pathetic, with whole sections of the British dossier skated over or ignored altogether. Yet Pangalos found that his government could not choose between the two countries' reports, could not "play detective."

Inherent in that statement was the implication that the Old Bailey findings might be incorrect, that Howe's independent evidence might be false, and that Howe himself might be mistaken in calling his evidence incontrovertible.

IF THE Greeks were motivated by a desire to avoid damaging their warm relations with President Assad's regime, the French had even greater reason to tread carefully.

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, it now appears, was playing a wily game - at the expense of the EEC's no-bargaining position.

On the one hand, he was suggesting that the Hindawi affair might have been a Mossad plot, while on the other his foreign minister was signing the sanctions package on the bottom line. Chirac seems to have had his cake and eaten it: *The Washington Times* interview kept the Syrians sufficiently sweet to allow two French hostages to be freed, while the French endorsement in London prevented a rupture in the EEC.

But the French behaviour, like that of the Greeks, shows the EEC package up as little more than hot air, an impression strengthened by Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond's attempts to split hairs when interpreting the EEC statement.

The statement, he told a private briefing for French reporters, did not represent a condemnation of the Syrian government, only of certain "Syrian citizens" involved in the Hindawi affair.

Questioned over this rather strange interpretation, Howe could only shake his head and pronounce himself unable to interpret the observations of his fellow ministers.

Away from the EEC, of course, details have been emerging daily of the covert arms-for-hostages dealings that the Americans have apparently been conducting with Iran. The full story has yet to come out, but even what has been revealed so far makes a mockery of the Reagan administration's stand on terror. It has always included Iran on its list of terror sponsors. As such, under Washington's own rules, there should have been no question of negotiation, let alone large-scale arms transfers.

Britain has emerged from this debacle smelling of roses, and Israel, which has always urged a tough line on Syria, should have reason to be pleased. Britain, unfortunately, has rather less to congratulate Israel about.

AS THE silence from Jerusalem on Mordechai Vanunu's travel arrangements resounds ever louder, Thatcher's government faces greater pressure at home from those wishing to bring Israel down a peg or two.

There can be little doubt now that Israel has badly handled the affair of Vanunu, the nuclear technician who

released simultaneously. That was not to be. Like all victims of blackmail, the president soon discovered that once a deal has been struck, the ante always goes up. That the blackmailers' appetite is insatiable once the victim is ensnared.

Instead of a one-time deal that had a high probability of remaining secret and could always be denied if leaked, the president found himself in a cleft stick, unable to retreat lest previous American concessions be revealed by the Iranians, and unable to advance unless Iranian terms were met. That the deal would eventually become public, as it did last week, was inevitable.

THE TIMING of the revelation could not have been less propitious for the president, coming only a few days after the declaration of American sanctions against Syria for state-sponsored terrorism and a few days before the Common Market countries were due to meet to endorse those sanctions.

The first public hint that the Iranians were involved came in an Agence France Presse report from a pro-Syrian newspaper in Lebanon, undoubtedly leaked to the paper by Syrian intelligence in a master-stroke of retaliation for Reagan's crusade against Damascus.

The AFP report gained wider circulation when the *Speaker* of the Iranian parliament acknowledged next day that McFarlane had been in Iran but had been detained and expelled. By the middle of last week it had become impossible to contain the story any longer.

Every hour brought more details, including the alleged Israeli connection that from being of peripheral interest has become a main focus of the unfolding farce. Each new detail brought in its wake more damage to both the president and America's national interest.

Moreover, the West's staunch and remarkably cohesive anti-terrorist strategy has been severely undermined: U.S. relations with Iraq, Jordan and Egypt have been badly strained; and Israel's image has been seriously tarnished.

Another direct result is that the chances of securing the release of the remaining hostages are now minimal, while the incentive for taking more hostages has dramatically increased. In addition, President Reagan has set an example of weakness for other countries - such as France - to emulate in dealing with similar problems, now and in the future.

sold the subterranean "secrets" of Dimona to *The Sunday Times*.

If Israel did not abduct him from British soil, it should have stated as much immediately, and should have explained clearly how he was brought out, however embarrassing that might have proved, according to diplomatic sources here.

If, on the other hand, the Mossad did bonk him on the head and bundle him into a crate at Stansted Airport, it should still have come clean, the sources felt.

As in Israel, there is little sympathy here for those who betray their country. Abduction would indeed have been an infraction of international law, but many, if not most, would have fully understood Israel's motives.

But for Israel to have to confess, eventually, to its misdeeds, at the prompting of the British ambassador, would prove the most embarrassing scenario of all.

It is irresponsible to talk of a breaking of relations, but Britain would be hard-pressed to quell the Arab demands for "even-handedness."

Even though the Foreign Office would never equate the Hindawi and Vanunu affairs, *The Post* was assured, the anti-Israelis would be baying for blood, and it is even possible that Her Majesty's ambassador would be recalled.

opening gates between arch-enemies.

Last but not least is the moral aspect. Even anyone who agrees with arms sales usually without paying attention to the identity of the buyer ought to question whether deals with the Khomeini regime is morally justified. This is a kingdom of evil, a vicious regime, in whose eyes human lives and human values do not count. It is to be doubted whether a country can supply war materials to so immoral a regime and still regard itself as upholding human values and fulfilling its moral obligations. Israel has always prided itself on having exceptionally high standards in this respect.

## Iranian victory: a dangerous possibility

Arye Naor calls for a reassessment of Gulf policy

A REASSESSMENT of Israel's policy in the Gulf War is needed in the light of the recent reports about Israeli involvement in arms deals with Teheran. This is a very serious issue which involves our basic values and our self-image as well as our international image.

There is no doubt that when American lives are at stake, Israel's services should be mobilized to help. In this region and its periphery the United States has no one else to count on, and no one should be left in doubt as to where Israel stands on the matter of saving American lives. If we can play the role of intermediary we should, and so far we have always done so.

The White House sources who disclosed that it was an Israeli idea to gain the release of the hostages in Lebanon through arms deals with Teheran also proved that Israel had been involved in the Gulf War for quite a long time.

In reassessing that policy one has first to analyse the reasons for selling material to the Iranians. The decision-makers may have thought that the arms deals would enable Israel to establish and develop connections in influential circles in Teheran who differ from the extremist supporters and followers of Ayatollah Khomeini. With an eye on the long run, they may even have hoped that once Khomeini disappeared from the scene, Israel would be able once again to win a central, powerful position with the new leadership.

Such hopes are groundless. No one can tell when the aged Iranian ruler will step down and who will succeed him. In the late '40s, most

observers were sure that Molotov would be Stalin's heir. But when the Soviet dictator died in the '50s, Molotov was not powerful enough to struggle against Nikita Khrushchev. The same could happen in Iran. Nevertheless, one must admit that there have been some benefits from the arms-deal policy, one of them being the successful mediation with regard to the hostages. This proves that even in crazy, fundamentalist Iran there are reasonable men who are prepared to talk business. Does that not give hope for the future?

NO, IT does not. Armaments are not supplied to "circles" but to the country that buys them. The Ayatollah himself said that for weapons in his holy war against Iraq he was ready to deal even with Satan himself. And no wonder. Even such a strange character understands that to win his war it is not enough to send schoolboys to the front with "keys to heaven" around their necks.

That is the real reason for the "open-mindedness" some people seem to have found in Teheran. It is not a sign of a sane balanced mind which might be developed in moderate, rational Iranian circles. It is the policy of Khomeini himself.

The "more moderate" elements with whom some Americans, as well as some Israelis, want to establish contact in Teheran are mere wishful thinking. Those elements do not represent a real change, or even a likelihood of change in the Iranian political reality.

Six years ago, when the Gulf War broke out, most observers believed that Iraq was going to win quite easily. Under these circumstances it was reasonable to help Iraq, notwithstanding its hostile attitude to Israel. But the strategic situation in the Gulf has changed, and now

there is a danger of an Iranian victory. Turkey's maneuvers near its border with Iraq should flash a red light in Jerusalem. They indicate that an Iranian victory is a dangerous possibility. In these new circumstances, it is strongly recommended that the situation, and the policy resulting therefrom, be re-examined.

Iraq is not a more friendly, pro-Zionist country than Iran. But an Iranian victory, probably leading to the establishment of a new Shi'ite fundamentalist empire with more than 30 experienced divisions at its disposal would be extremely dangerous to Israel, as well as to moderate Arab countries.

Egypt, the only Arab country with which we have peace, supports Iraq in the war. Jordan does so even more actively and with greater dedication. The Saudis do so too, despite the troubles they have already had with President Saddam Hussein.

The only country neighbouring Israel which supports Iran is Syria; and that is from afar.

Libya's Mu'ammarr Gaddafi gives his blessings. Is this the international company in which we would like to appear?

IT IS NOT only a matter of image. When Ben-Gurion decided on his periphery policy (still the basis of Israel's relationship with Iran, Ethiopia and Turkey), Israel did not have peace and diplomatic relations with any of its neighbouring Arab countries. At that time it was reasonable to seek legitimacy from afar, at the regional frontier, populated by non-Arabs. Indeed, it also was on these grounds that relations were established with the Christians in Lebanon.

But now the situation is different. We have peace with Egypt - the

greatest achievement of Menachem Begin's premiership. Peace is not a static phenomenon, but a dynamic occurrence which has necessities of its own. One of them is concerned with Egypt's role in the Arab world.

Isolation from the rest of the Arab world will not encourage Egypt to pursue its peace policy with Israel. Since we have some differences of opinion with the Egyptians on matters really important to us, it is worthwhile paying attention to mat-

ters important to Cairo. If Egypt could persuade us not to have arms dealings with Iran it could prove to the rest of the Arab world - at least the relatively moderates - that a peace policy vis-à-vis Israel is advantageous. And, besides, a victorious Iran would be dangerous to some of our neighbours, even more dangerous than to us. This means that we and the moderate Arabs have a common enemy, and history has proved that this is the best key for

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# THE MIRAGE NEGEV & REALITY SLEEPING GIANT

Liora Moriel

FORTY YEARS after David Ben-Gurion took the bold step of putting the south on the Jewish map of a future Israel by sending small groups of pioneers to eleven points in the Negev on the same October night, the Negev has sorely lacked a commanding vision. But the winds of change, slowly as they may be blowing, seem poised on the verge of sweeping the south out of its long stagnation at last.

Before leaving office as prime minister, Shimon Peres pushed for a ministerial committee to deal once and for all with the region's basic problems and needs and come up with a plan that would, once again, place the Negev on the map by the year 2000.

Ben-Gurion's vision, never a top national priority even in his own lifetime — although it was at least a popular, national dream — came up against a rival pioneering group with increasing popular support after 1967. "The Six Day War and the addition of new territories to Israel diverted attention from the Negev. Ben-Gurion's fall from power did not help either," Prof. Yehuda Gratus, dean of humanities and social sciences at the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Beersheba told *The Jerusalem Post*.

"Once, those who lived in the Negev were considered pioneers. The Negev was widely seen as an important national priority; but today, the Negev is perceived as iso-

lated and miserable — a place for crazies," he added.

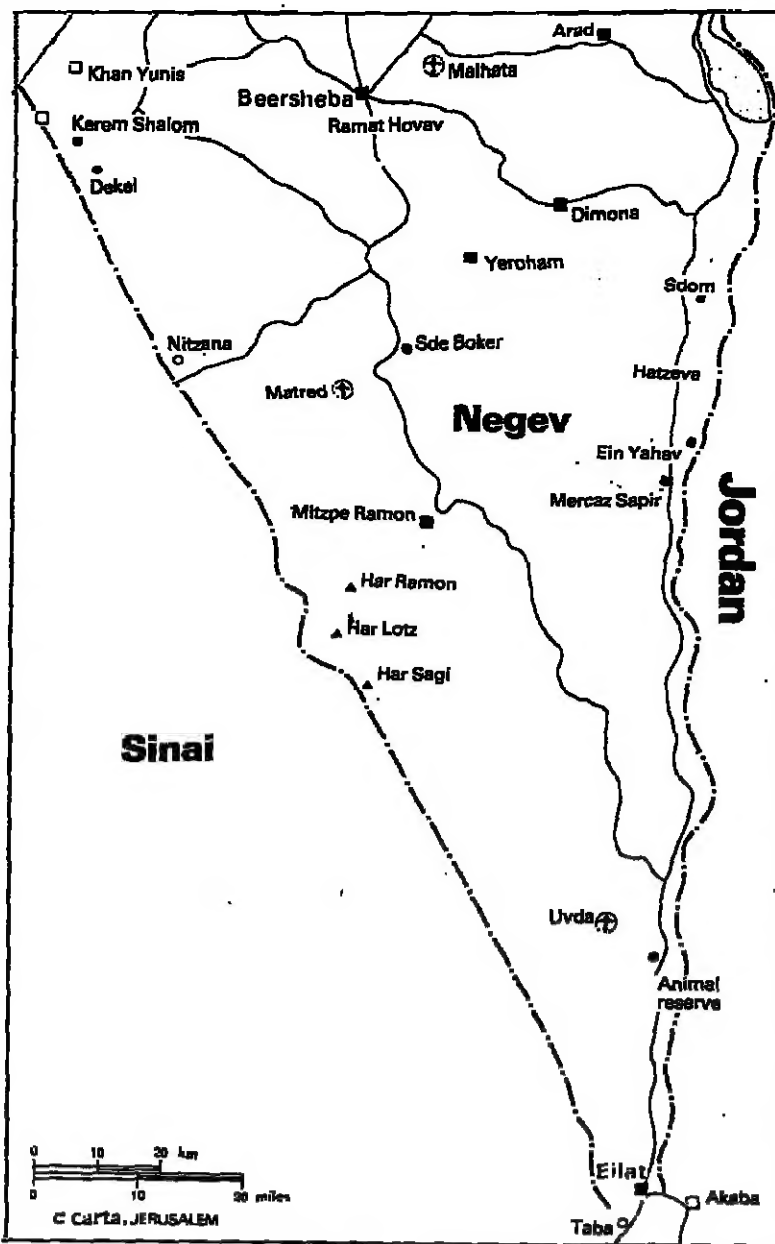
The Negev's pitfalls were also once its charms: The fact that the Negev was far removed from the centre was not always considered a liability; indeed roughing it in the desert was once perceived as a challenge.

Ben-Gurion saw the region as Israel's reservoir of land for mass immigration and a source of pioneering inspiration in science, agriculture and social psychology. More than an inspiration, the very challenge of the Negev was seen as necessary for survival. As he put it succinctly: "If Israel does not conquer the desert, the desert will conquer Israel."

Setting a personal example, Ben-Gurion moved with his wife to Kibbutz Sde Boker where he made his home. Seeking a burial site in his last years for himself and his wife Paula, he rode in a jeep all over the desert and finally chose a cliff-top overlooking the breathtaking Zin valley near the kibbutz.

While the man is no longer alive, his charisma lingers on. Without publicity or fanfare, some 100,000 people arrive in tour buses every year at his grave, to pay homage to the man who secured the region for Israel with his spirit and daring.

At a recent ceremony marking the 40th anniversary of that night in 1946 when the outposts were set up hastily in the south, speaker after speaker noted that the Negev had never been



seen, previously, as part of Jewish Palestine. While the tiny lookouts were not sufficient in themselves to repel the Egyptian army during the War of Independence, they managed to hold the Egyptians off long enough to allow the Israeli forces to come in and rout the invaders.

BEERSHEBA, now the urban heart of the region, had no Jewish population to speak of in 1948. A handful of soldiers were lured into staying by

the offer of land allotments. The following year, seventeen families were brought over from the Cyprus detention camps, launching nearly 30 years of astounding growth, which peaked in the mid-70s.

Prof. Ilan Troen, director of the Ben-Gurion Research Centre in Sde Boker, described Beersheba's rate of growth as even greater than that of the boom towns of California, with the population increasing by leaps and bounds until 1975. In its

first decade, the Negev as well as Beersheba absorbed waves of new immigrants from all over the world. Immigrants were placed on buses and open trucks and brought south to Beersheba and the surrounding moshavim and development towns.

Soon three institutions were set up that would consolidate Beersheba's metropolitan status and bring academics, scientists and medical specialists to the region: the Applied Research Institutes (Ben-Gurion's idea, from which BGU grew); the Nuclear Research Centre in nearby Dimona (the brainchild of Shimon Peres) and the Soroka Medical Centre, (established by the Histadrut's health insurance fund).

Meanwhile, the government expanded the operation of the mining companies near the Dead Sea, such as the potash and phosphates plants, and helped establish chemical installations within the city — with no pollution controls, however, so that while providing thousands of much-needed jobs they also created problems for the area that are only now being resolved.

These plants combined to give the nation hard currency from exports, to the tune of some \$1.5 billion. The government, on the other hand, reinvested only a fraction of this sum in the Negev.

WHILE THE NEW territories blossomed and even Galilee was given a helping hand, in recent years, the south was allowed to stagnate. Why?

There are several reasons. For one thing, there is no local leadership nor long-range planning from below: When the army left Sinai following the peace treaty with Egypt, the Negev failed to utilize the opportunity effectively for attracting new settlers to the region and initiating new development and growth. There was no planning: thousands of high-quality apartments and houses were built that nobody seemed likely to inhabit; new plants failed to relocate in the south and several existing ones closed. Just when there was real optimism about the prospect of new jobs in the region at last, unemployment intensified.

The frustration of shattered expectations resulted in drastically declining morale and the Negev began to show a decline in population. Dimona, once a success story, lost 10



Ben-Gurion... the charisma lingers on. (Micha Bar-Am)

Eilat, there is only one municipality: tiny Mitzpe Ramon, with 2,100 residents. "The Negev is not a regional problem, it's a national problem," says Benjamin Yassour of Kibbutz Magen, who was hand-picked by Histadrut secretary-general Israel Kessar to direct its "push for growth" think tank.

"It's important to consolidate Eilat as Israel's southernmost settlement so as not to lose the Negev. We must develop from the periphery to the centre, not the other way round. If something drastic doesn't happen soon, we'll continue losing population," he predicted. Yassour is on the steering committee of the Negev 2000 Association which presented Peres with concrete proposals for change when he visited Beersheba last May. "I believe that our document finally caused him to take the matter to heart and set up the ministerial committee," said Yassour.

Ever since news of the committee's formation reached the region, morale has improved.

A novel problem has arisen recently: whereas before, too few people and groups put the Negev on their agenda, now there are no less than three agencies for change in the region: the Assembly of Negev Representatives, funded by local and regional councils in the south; the Negev 2000 Association (apparently favoured by the ministerial committee headed by Peres); and a council made up of local authority, university and Beduin representatives and headed by two ministers, which was established by the Negev Law passed by the Knesset last summer. Each group has its own public relations firm, offices and budget and operations are based mainly in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Often, the same people sit on all three committees.

As long as conflicts caused by duplicating agencies do not cloud the issue, the new push to get the Negev moving could soon start showing results. Peres' visit to the U.S. is expected, among other things, to generate large infusions of funding for special economic projects in the Negev, including a new port for Eilat, a Negev railway and new industries.

Eldad Gissin, southern district director for the agriculture ministry and the Jewish Agency, told *The Post*: "For the first time in a decade there is real potential for growth."

per cent of its inhabitants; Mitzpe Ramon lost half.

True, one problem was and remains the fact that the Negev is conditioned to expect solutions from the outside, but that is not unreasonable in a heavily centralized nation. Both Peres and President Chaim Herzog, upon assuming office two years ago, promised to give the Negev priority. But good intentions alone are not enough.

BETWEEN THE DEAD Sea and Eilat, there is a minute population of 4,700. Between Beersheba and

## Waiting for the big leap

Liora Moriel

RECESSION AND depopulation of the Negev are currently a fact of life. The region's towns no longer boast of the improved quality of life they offer. Local pride in achievement is also no longer in evidence.

Mayors used to tell visitors about the high level of education in their towns. Dimona, not an unusual case, spent 30 per cent of its municipal budget on education and cultural activities. In the end, the educated young people found that once they came back to town after their stint in the army, there was little for them to do.

"You can't blame these youngsters for not wanting to accept low-paying menial positions," the mayors later told reporters investigating the region's negative population growth. And it seemed as if some Negev leaders took a kind of perverse pride in the statement. Their sons and daughters were too good for the stagnating town, they seemed to imply.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Negev flourished, but this growth can now be seen, in retrospect, to have been

illusory. Thousands of new immigrants, mostly from poor, technologically unsophisticated countries, were sent in waves to the Negev, to settle in moshavim and development towns. They were taught to farm and they were taught to run simple machines.

"Sapir is the man responsible for the industrialization of the Negev," former Beersheba mayor Eliahu Navi, an admirer of Levi Eshkol's finance minister, was fond of repeating. Others are less enthusiastic. "Eshkol thought of the region as another shield, and spread out tiny towns all over. In the end, none was able to reach the critical population mass necessary for ultimate growth," another lamented.

Yeroham, the first development town established in Israel, is a case in point.

Set up in 1951 on a bend in the road south to Eilat, it was peopled

with immigrants from uniformly disadvantaged backgrounds. A bottling factory and small shops were built and perhaps the town could have managed to become economically viable had the government not decided to build a new highway to Eilat that bypassed the town. After the road was opened, Yeroham began its inevitable decline into a nowhere town on a dead-end street.

Although the Interior Ministry pumped an amazing amount of money into the small town (its population hovers around the 6,000 mark) and, per capita, it has received more government funding than any other place in Israel, Yeroham today is experiencing demoralization, decline and decreasing employment. Just last week, Mayor Baruch Elmakiyas told a Knesset committee that there are simply no

NAGAV: Syrian, Chaldean and Samaritan root — to be dry, or dried. Whence Negev, the south, the southern quarter or district. Genesis' Hebrew and Chaldean Lexicon.

jobs for his constituents. Meanwhile, hundreds of high-quality flats and houses stand empty, sad and silent relics of the expectations for an economic boom earlier in the decade following the disengagement from the Sinai.

Shalom Danino, the Interior Ministry's southern district representative, said recently that Yeroham "has unique problems" of bad management and corruption, including a bloated roster of municipal employees. Nevertheless, he added, there are no plans for dispersing the elected council and appointing another in its place, as was done 10 years ago. "We believe that the municipality is now trying to carry out its activities along the budgetary lines we advocate," he said. He refused to comment about a report prepared by his own office about monetary improprieties in the town, unearthed by a former treasurer.

Danino did say, however, that the case of Mitzpe Ramon was "special and vastly different." The only town between Beersheba and Eilat, Mitz-

pe here are no longer thinking of leaving. Now we're on the right road to proper development and I believe that in the next decade we'll grow to 15,000. Mitzpe Ramon will be an important town in the Negev. There is a general feeling of positive thinking and we think that we can handle it well," he said.

But urban planners have a different perception of the optimal smallest size for a city, and 15,000 is lower than their worst scenarios. They believe, on the whole, that an isolated town must have at least 50-60,000 people to be economically viable; a city must have more than 100,000. In their eyes, even Beersheba has not yet developed into a full-fledged regional centre for the entire Negev.

"I don't think the Negev will really develop until it literally becomes the last frontier, unless Russia forces its Jews out and thousands more come from elsewhere," said Tova Weinberger, an architect based in Beersheba. "People will first develop the dunes of Rishon LeZion. The Negev is our national reserve rather than today's priority."

IS THE Negev then doomed to coast along until an external set of circumstances focuses attention on it once again? Some people are less pessimistic, believing that change can come soon — even tomorrow — if the right sort of planning is done today.

Already, some residents in Mitzpe Ramon are calling on the government to rethink its policy and award other subsidies, rather than full income tax exemptions, to far-flung towns. They want the government to

'And Abraham journeyed toward the Negev and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur' Genesis 20.1.

fully subsidize health care, education, transportation and housing instead. Once this is done, they feel, many "strong families" from the centre of the country would be enticed to the isolated South.

Shalom Segal, president of the Beersheba Chamber of Commerce, favours reduced telephone rates for the Negev. "I've had a long correspondence with the communications minister on this matter. I think that it's unfair to charge Negev residents and industries so much, since almost every call from here is a long-distance call."

Proper planning for the Negev, some experts say, should focus on strengthening Beersheba as the area's cosmopolitan centre, and on Eilat as the periphery's vital port-and-rail link. The small development towns should be developed as bedroom or tourist, not industrial, centres. Thus, Mitzpe Ramon could become the service area for those travellers who want action vacations in the desert; Ofakim and Yeroham would become suburbs of Beersheba.

"There was no reason to establish Lehavim (a villa-village near Beersheba) when people could have been given incentives to build their own homes in Yeroham," said Benjamin Yassour of Kibbutz Magen, who is on the advisory committee to the ministerial council set up by then premier Shimon Peres for the development of the Negev. "Yeroham and Ofakim must lean on the regional infrastructures of Beersheba



Dimona... a question of priorities. (D. G. Landau)

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David Krivine looks back - and ahead

# A future in minerals

WHEN I came to Israel in 1950, the only sign of economic activity in the Negev was the relic of a factory - situated at the lowest point on earth and owned by the London-based Palestine Potash Company.

Some 35 years have passed since then, and a major activity has developed during that time, based mainly on three Dead Sea minerals: potash, bromine and magnesium, plus one land-based mineral - phosphates. Between them they provide the country with \$765m. of production, half of it export earnings, and supply a living for 7,000 human beings, 4,000 of them in the Negev.

Twenty-five years ago, I was writing in this paper about chemicals in the Negev. The Sdom Dead Sea Works had been built, the government-owned defunct Palestine Potash Company, and 115,000 tons of that alkaline substance - a valuable fertilizer - was being exported.

The government proved to be an energetic entrepreneur. A four-year plan, financed in part by the World Bank, raised output to 600,000 tons in 1967 - an impressive achievement. However, the company was beginning to lose money, as prices had sagged.

Happily enthusiasm did not. Shimaryahu Filder, currently head of sales at Israel Chemicals Ltd. (ICL), explains that countries with a small industrial base cannot afford to throw in the sponge. "These are all the raw materials we possess. We have to stay in business in bad times so that we are there when the good times come."

ICL is now the parent company for all the Negev-mineral factories. One of its subsidiaries is IMI (Israel Mining Industries) which concentrates on research and development. IMI works on ways of cheapening output and up-grading the product. It has helped the potash industry. DSW is now in profit.

Who would have dreamed 20 years ago that it would be selling (in 1985) almost 2m. tons of this material for \$200m., of which \$150m. is export earnings - making profits of close to \$40m.?

LIKE Caesar's Gaul, fertilizers divide into three. In order of importance they are N (nitrogen), P (phosphates) and K (potash). Germany has potash but no phosphates. Morocco has phosphates but no potash. Israel has both.

The farmer needs one or more of these plant nutrients in different proportions, depending on the type of soil cultivated.

Nitrogen comes from oil which is unfortunately not an Israeli product. But Israel is a leader in potash and phosphates, supplying approximately 5 per cent of the Western world's trade in those items.

During the mid-Sixties, phosphates were mined in Oron; output reaching 200,000 tons. The deposit is almost completely depleted, but other fields have been opened nearby. The biggest supply area is Nahal Zin, but that does not exhaust resources. The best field is Zohar, recently discovered. Total deposits in the Negev are estimated at 1.5b. tons.

We produce at present over 3m. tons of phosphates a year, two-thirds of it for export - and could raise output to 4m. tons, says Filder. At that rate, our certified reserves could keep us going for four centuries.

A fertilizer factory was built at Rotem in 1977. It has a phosphate field nearby called Tamar

(initials of Ta'asyot Mishor Rotem, or Rotem Plateau Industries). It processes the phosphate rock into an intermediary called phosphoric acid and processes that into TSP.

How to dispose of these vast quantities of potash and phosphates? Likewise in 1977 - a fateful year - ICL bought a large factory in West Germany called Giulini Chemie, and in 1985 another called Stodiek-Dünger. Between them they supply 20 per cent of that country's fertilizer market.

In 1982, ICL added another foreign plant, this time in Amsterdam, purchased from the Dutch Fertilizer Company. The three undertakings between them employ 1,300 workers and produce 700,000 tons.

"They were going cheap so we bought them," explains Filder. "It would have cost us much more to build corresponding factories on our own. Moreover, they give us a foothold in the largest selling area, Western Europe. The factories are themselves a captive market in a sense, because they have to buy our raw material."

Large exporting companies become multinationals of necessity. Customers in a foreign country like to deal with a local supplier who speaks their language and on whom they can depend. The Middle East, with its reputation for political turbulence, is not considered altogether reliable.

## THE MIRAGE NEGEV & REALITY

Other confusion is avoided. For example: "A foreign client buying our phosphate rock to make TSP," Filder recalls, "complains indignantly that we are exporting TSP from Israel as well and that competes with their output."

"When Giulini supplies the Germans with TSP, nobody complains." It is no secret that Giulini belongs to Israel, but that does not seem to matter.

Selling internationally in an intensely competitive market requires plenty of ingenious devices. One of them is called tolling. "We contract with a foreign fertilizer manufacturer to buy a fixed proportion of their output - on condition they use our raw material for a fixed proportion of their production."

What does ICL do with all the superfluous fertilizer that it commits itself to buy from these overseas companies? "We re-sell it," he proclaims triumphantly. "The process is advantageous. It steps up our export of raw materials and at the same time allows us, through this re-sale business, to control a larger part of the international market."

THE most remarkable mineral of all is bromine. It earns fewer dollars than the potash industry but its market is more restricted, and within that market, Israel stands out as a giant. "The Dead Sea Bromine Group (DSBG) is the largest single producer in the world of elemental bromine," states Filder. "We also possess one of the world's largest factories for the production of bromine compounds."

Israeli deliveries account for 60 per cent of world trade in this chemical. Sales have in-

creased at a breathtaking pace, from 94m. tons in 1983 to 112m. tons in 1984 and 135m. tons last year. Profits rose from nothing in 1983 to \$15m. in 1985. Here again there is a foothold in Europe. Broomchemie, producing bromine compounds in Holland.

DSBG will be the fastest growing company in the ICL complex during the next five years. A \$150m. investment plan is to increase capacity by half.

Dramatic also in the story of this chemical industry - which must be considered one of the most sensational branches of the Israeli economy - is periclase. I remember when champagne glasses were lifted shortly after the Six Day War on the signing of a contract with Austrian investors (specialists in the field) to extract and process magnesium from Dead Sea brines.

Periclase is used mainly for refractory bricks, installed in high-temperature industrial ovens, because they can stand up to extremes of heat. The Israeli variety is endowed with the highest degree of purity available. "DSP-grade MGO" (magnesium oxide) is a standard concept in world parlance, even among people who are not aware that DSP stands for Dead Sea Periclase.

Output comes to 50,000 tons, earning \$25m., 80 per cent of it export receipts. An increase is planned to 70,000 tons. A plant will also be constructed to process 5,000 tons a month into fine chemicals and pharmaceutical products. "Earning," says Filder, "thousands of dollars per ton instead of hundreds."

RETURNING to potash, expansion is billed here too. Output will rise by 200,000 tons, and a new variety is to be manufactured.

The standard fertilizer material is potassium chloride, good for most purposes; but some crops, tobacco for instance, cannot stand the chloride. Yet a compound there must be, because potassium alone is an unstable element. So DSW will invest in producing 150,000 tons of potassium sulphate, a quantity which may rise to 300,000 tons. This should tap a new market. (A company outside ICL-Haifa Chemicals - makes another high-grade and expensive compound: potassium nitrate).

ICL plans for the five years till 1990 to invest \$500m. in expanding turnover, of all its subsidiaries together by 45 per cent. Target for exports is \$700m., with a greater proportion of up-graded products. It is worth recalling that in the mid-Seventies, 70 per cent of sales were basic raw materials. Today, that figure is down to 40 per cent and by the end of the decade it will be 30 per cent. The sale of processed materials is going up, from intermediaries like phosphoric acid to end-products in the fertilizer and chemical industries.

These developments in the Negev economy will provide 700 more jobs. They are also a key to the general development of the region. Thus a 17-km. conveyor belt has just been completed from Sdom to the railroad at Rotem, costing \$40m. This makes road haulage to Ashdod and the North unnecessary.

Trucks are still required for shipments south to Eilat port. If the long-talked-of railway link to Eilat comes into existence, it will be due mainly to the needs of the Negev's chemical industry, which should be its largest customer by far.



Tomatoes are expected to be primary fuel for the Negev take-off.

## Farm revolution round the corner

Abraham Rabinovich

LIKE A PLANT shedding its leaves at the end of a biological cycle and preparing for new growth, Negev agriculture is witnessing the withering away of failed farmsteads that marked much of the first generation of moshav settlement in the south, while bracing for a new flowering.

Ben-Gurion's vision of a blossoming desert has been dramatically realized by the founders of the rural Negev settlements who have converted barren landscapes into flourishing fields covering about 10 per cent of the Negev. The 68 kibbutzim and most of the 82 moshavim in the Negev have maintained an aura of wilderness pioneering, even as benign middle age overtakes agricultural settlements in gentler climates to the north.

However, the mass settlement of new immigrants on moshavim in the 1950s in the hope of seeing the newcomers "build and be built by" the land, was not a total success. More than half of the 30 moshavim in the Lachish region are considered to be in a state of disintegration, according to Pinhas Moscu, deputy director of the Negev Region of the Jewish Agency Settlement Department. These settlements are overwhelmed with debts and unable to develop the social cohesion needed for a cooperative settlement. Another 10 moshavim further south appear to be in a similar situation. The authorities are now examining each of these settlements to determine whether they should be disbanded as cooperatives and their land and water allocations turned over to productive settlements. The failure of these settlements, says Moscu, is entirely due to social factors.

At the other end of the spectrum, geographically and economically, are the moshavim of the Arava where the annual turnover per family is \$80,000.

The northern administrative boundary of the Negev, as reckoned by the settlement department, is near Kiryat Malachi. Of the 350,000 persons living in the region between there and Eilat - 60 per cent of Israel's land mass - the bulk live in the cities of Ashkelon, Beersheba and Eilat and the smaller developing towns. Residents of the 150 kibbutzim and moshavim comprise only one-seventh of the population. This small rural community, however, is the dominant presence in the Negev where it farms 1,200,000 dunams of which half is irrigated.

A new era will open up in the Negev within a few years, says Nissim Zvili, director of the settlement department. "Beginning in 1990, the department will cease dealing with settlements in the central region which now receive about 30 per cent

"Give me a blessing, for having set me in the Negev; give me therefore springs of water." Joshua 15.19.

of our resources, and our efforts within the Green Line will be concentrated almost entirely in Galilee and the Negev." Although resources will be fairly evenly divided between these two areas, the land-scarce Galilee settlements will be reinforced with industrial and tourism facilities while efforts in the Negev will be primarily agricultural.

A combination of old-fashioned wasteland pioneering and state-of-the-art agricultural technology will be deployed to launch the Negev into the 1990s. Dozens of new settlements are envisioned in the western Negev, the Arava and Negev highlands. Where water is a limiting factor, agriculture is to be irrigated by capital-intensive efforts like glass-house tomato production for the

export market. A one-dunam glass-house costs about \$50,000 but the annual yield would be \$12,000-\$13,000.

TOMATOES ARE expected to be a primary fuel for the Negev take-off. The humble vegetable has long been vaunted as the miracle manna of Israel's desert agriculture capturing foreign markets with early yields drawing astronomical prices from delighted European housewives, but results until recently had been less than hoped for.

Now, says Moscu, new strains have been developed by Israeli scientists that not only boast a superb taste and robust appearance but also a long shelf life, making them suitable even for the distant American market. Trial marketing in the U.S. this year has proved highly encouraging. The tomatoes are also to be grown in open fields where they will mature later to provide year-round marketing.

The Pithat Shalom bloc is seen as a major growth area in the future. The bloc was established in 1980 by two kibbutzim and two moshavim evacuated from the Yamit bloc just across the international border with Egypt. They were subsequently joined by other moshavim. All the moshavim in the bloc experienced initial difficulties but, according to Zvili, the situation is now stabilizing.

Three existing settlements in the Nitzanim area are to be joined by three more settlements in the near future although water remains a serious problem - recent attempts to drill for water have, so far, proved disappointing. "If we find water there," says Zvili, "the opportunity for agricultural settlement is virtually unlimited."

Some of the most interesting developments, both in innovative farming and in rural settlement, are taking place in the Arava.

Kibbutzim in the southern Arava have undertaken pisciculture - growing fish for export in ponds in the desert valley and in cages in the waters of the Gulf of Eilat. A first shipment of eight tons of Arava fish sent to Europe this year drew the exceptionally high price of \$8,000 a ton. The kibbutzim are also marketing a new king-size date drawing high prices in Europe.

The moshavim in the central Arava, which specialize in growing winter vegetables for the European market, are tapping warm underground water to quicken the ripening of melons.

The proposed Voice of America station will further boost the central Arava by bringing 150 new families to Mercaz Sapir, the regional centre. A new bloc of five non-agricultural settlements is to be created in the hills 400 metres above the Arava floor, west of Ketura.

Predicts Zvili: "The revolution in the Negev will come in five years. We will begin dealing with development again, not with paying off debts."

## A railway off track

Ya'acov Friedler

PERHAPS the most striking thing about the geography of Israel is that it is long and narrow - practically tailor-made for a railroad.

Yet powerful interests have for the past 40 years been able to prevail on indifferent politicians to motorize the country and keep the railways, a stepchild, little regarded and less loved.

Despite Ben-Gurion's vision for the Negev, and two Israeli wars fought to assure shipping to Eilat, succeeding governments have done little to make the southern port viable and put the Negev on the map, by developing the only means that can do both - a railroad to the south.

It is not for want of prompting. Our national psyche is stamped with the remembrance of the "Uganda Scheme" of a century ago, when the British government offered Theodor Herzl an "East African Zion" on a Kenyan plateau, in order to drum up business for the Uganda Railway they had just built.

Today we can observe our neighbours busily building railroads. Jordan has had its railway to Akaba, across the Bay from Eilat, since 1975 and is currently spending \$60 million to develop the narrow-gauge track. Syria is expanding its railnet to link Damascus with Aleppo and the ports of Latakia and Tartus. Iraq, despite its long war with Iran, is also developing its tracks.

Only in Israel, where we are about to witness the takeoff of one of the world's most advanced fighter planes, the Lavi, have we allowed so basic a facility as the railroad to degenerate into a sort of old-fashioned curio instead of developing it into a modern mass transit and cargo system that has done so much to make Switzerland what it is today.

The only politician who has done something about the railways in the past decade is MK Pessah Grapper who made the passenger trains stop at his home station, Adit, to facilitate his commuting to the corridors of power. They're even building a platform there now.

UNFORTUNATELY, the railways have been, since the establishment

of the state, under the jurisdiction of the Transport Ministry, which has had more ministers than any other, and has been headed by a series of general managers who may have been well-intentioned but quickly began thinking small when they settled into the archaic railroad.

"We did what we could with the limited budget the government put at our disposal," railways spokesman and economist Ilan Falkov told *The Jerusalem Post*. "We have got as far as Mt. Zin (south of Beersheba) from where, since December 1977, the cargo trains have been taking phosphates to the Ashdod port."

"Now it's just 173km. more to Eilat," he noted. But, when a few years ago the "big chance" turned up for a 43km. track to Sdom in the east, for potash transportation, the railways were once more pushed aside and in 1984 it was decided to build an 18km. conveyor to its Zefa spur instead.

"Our proposed track would have negotiated the most difficult terrain and would have made it easy for us to continue due south to Eilat at last, without any more major topographical obstacles."

But it was not to be. The experts decided that the conveyor, yet to be tried over so long a distance, would be "cheaper." The railways' management still disputes this, noting that in fact the potash works had to build a terminal at Zefa for the incoming potash, not to mention the tie-in with Eilat that was once more thwarted.

As it is, the management has completed its detailed plans to extend the track from Zin, via Hatseva to the Sapir regional centre, a good way to Eilat. The 43km. stretch passes through the toughest terrain of Mt. Negev and would cost an estimated \$38 million. "If we get the green light we are ready to go," Falkov said.

To go all the way to Eilat would cost an estimated \$130 million for the track and another \$28 million for

the rolling stock, four engines and 210 wagons.

If this dream line is ever built, the railways obviously intend to run passenger trains to the southern resort too. They already have plans for three engines and 18 air-conditioned coaches, which would be enough to run three trains each way daily, with a capacity for 1,000 passengers each. They would take a little less time than 60 buses and offer a slightly cheaper trip. However, the journey would be in much greater comfort.

THE RAILWAY to Eilat would revive the whole rail system, becoming as it were the locomotive to propel it into the 20th century, starting with doubling the single track it now runs on.

Nobody has ever estimated how many millions, perhaps billions of dollars, Israel has wasted in importing cars and trucks and keeping them fuelled and repaired, because we have resisted building a viable railway. And it's not even for want of investment funds. Ever since 1949, foreign investors, private companies and governments have repeatedly offered to finance a railroad to Eilat. Even now an Australian delegation is due to look into the matter.

The railways, the management points out, are the only government department that competes directly with private enterprise, the buses and trucks, but is so hamstrung by the government as to make it a non-starter from the word go.

The real solution is privatizing, the new general manager, Eliahu Barak believes, and the next best is to make it an autonomous authority, probably in a merger with the Ports Authority that is now being mooted.

Barak, 61, an electronics engineer, was an Aluf Mishne in the regular army until his retirement in 1973, and has since been a company manager, ambassador to Colombia and director-general of the Communications Ministry. He took over the railways a year ago and if he'll Think Big, he may yet make Israel Railways take off and fulfil its role in the economy, starting with opening up the Negev all the way to Eilat.



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# THE MIRAGE NEGEV & REALITY

## Wilderness is paradise enow...

Haim Shapiro

"I SIMPLY love the desert. I just want to go off and be alone in the wilderness."

The sneaker was a statuesque Dutch blonde, chatting in the warmth and comfort of an Amsterdam pub. She and others like her are intrigued by the Negev, but whether their dreams can be translated into tourist dollars is another matter.

In theory, it should not be so difficult. People go to the most unlikely places for holidays - windswept islands off the coast of Scotland, barren peaks in the Himalayas, mosquito-infested beach resorts in Mexico and cities blighted by human poverty and wretchedness in India. They will stay for days on end in game reserves with minimal facilities in the vain hope of seeing a lion or an elephant.

I could not help thinking about my Dutch acquaintance and others like her one winter's day a few years ago when, on an assignment for *The Jerusalem Post*, I visited the Ramon Crater, or *machtesh*. The wind was blowing and there was a heavy fog when we left Beersheba, and by the time we reached the Ramon Park, on the edge of the crater, there was a driving rainstorm.

Crouching on low stools over a fire in a tent, we sipped hot mint tea as we watched the rain come whipping across the tent's open side. From time to time a small branch or bush would come flying across our field of vision.

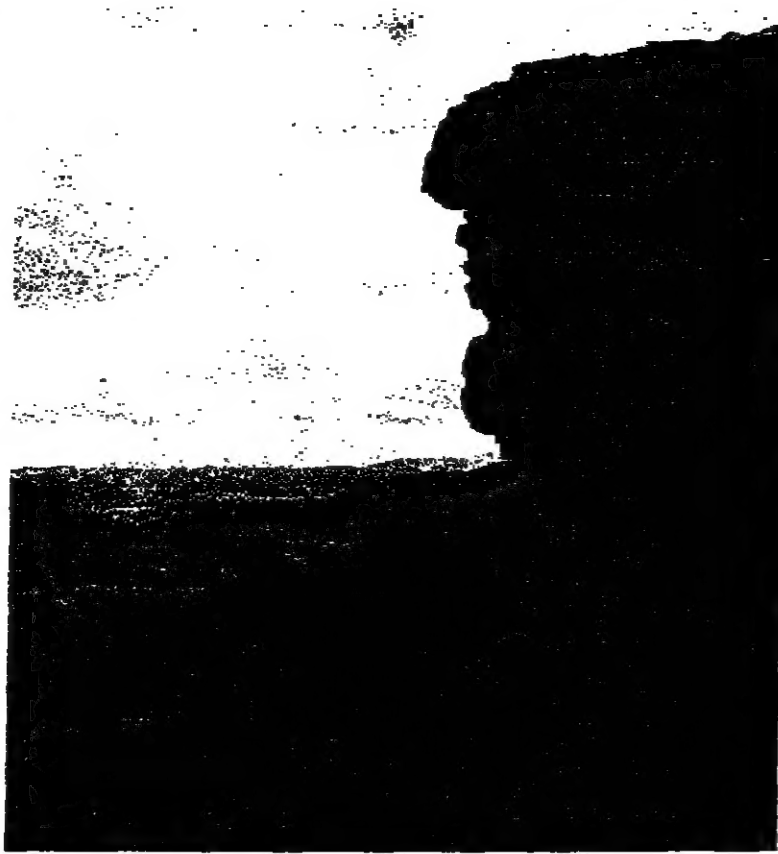
The grandeur of the savage storm more than compensated for the fact that this was one of the few days of the year when fog obscured the magnificent view from the new visitors' centre in Mitzpe Ramon.

AFTER VISITING the crater and the visitors centre, we made our way to the home of a local resident. It was built of natural local stone, with a picture window encompassing the view and an open fireplace providing warmth and comfort. It occurred to me that the living-room, perhaps only a little larger, might have made the ideal lobby for a small hotel.

This would, of course, attract geologists, coming to study the largest erosion-created crater in the world, its geological strata dating back to the Triassic period, with fossils of extinct marine reptiles. The 34-kilometre-long crater forms what experts consider to be a window from which to view the history of the earth.

To the casual visitor, the alternating bands of light and dark rock are impressive enough; but for the geologist, there is a view that in Europe could only be had by going down a mine-shaft. There is the incredible area of unstable, angular rocks, known to the locals as "the carpentry shop."

ALL THIS I had seen on an earlier visit, when I also saw ancient Israelite water installations and the



At the Ramon Crater

(Mike Goldberg)

remains of their desert farming. I also learned that a night-time excursion with a spotlight would reveal an amazing array of desert wildlife. Not only does the spotlight expose the night creatures; it also holds them frozen still for the tourist's camera.

But even in daytime, one should be able to catch a glimpse of the wild asses that are again roaming the area, thanks to the efforts of the Nature Reserves Authority, which has raised the animals that were extinct in the area from a strain brought in from Iran.

Meanwhile, the attractions of the area are open to Israeli youth groups, who visit it in increasing numbers, and to families who usually come for a day's visit. Facilities range from the relative "comfort" of a youth hostel, to a camping site, where running water and flush toilets are laid on at no cost.

THERE WERE probably more visitors to the region in the 1950s and 1960s, when the main road to Eilat passed through Mitzpe Ramon.

Then, at least, the tourist buses stopped long enough for the passengers to get out and stretch their legs, and perhaps even have a cup of coffee.

It was during those days that the not unimpressive Nabatean and Byzantine site of Avdat was reconstructed, providing another point of interest on the road to Eilat. Today, Avdat is off the beaten track and most of the time the only sound heard is that of the wind, blowing through the walls of its ancient fortifications.

The idea of Mitzpe Ramon as a centre for the more intrepid type of tourist is hardly new. A brief survey of the archives of *The Jerusalem Post* reveals that virtually every time a reporter makes one of the infrequent visits to the town, he is told that "a hotel, or perhaps a motel," is planned. There is even a site on the edge of the crater, commanding the stupendous view.

No doubt one day a hotel will be built. It may be in time for my blonde friend from Amsterdam to send her grandchildren there.

## Israel's last real frontier

UNTIL THE disengagement of the army from the Sinai and the urbanization of the Negev Beduin at the beginning of the decade, there were only about a dozen leopards in the region. Their number has since increased, as they have more freedom of movement. Some have been spotted as far south as Sde Boker and Mitzpe Ramon.

It is believed that the southern species is slightly different from the more northern leopards and may be closer to the panther.

Giora Ilani, the Nature Reserves Authority's expert on the subject, who had until recently raised a female leopard cub in his backyard, would like to keep the Negev as a giant nature reserve, so that animals

"One may visit the groups of young men and women who have settled in the Negev desert... I always approach these settlements with a feeling of awe... in the middle of the desert, quite alone, working energetically, gaily, without making a single complaint."

Chaim Weizmann,  
Trial and Error.

would be able to roam wild, unharmed by hunters. To him, the Negev is the country's last bastion against the dangers of technocracy.

"Instead of establishing more and more settlements, we should leave the region undeveloped so that we can take our children on nature hikes undisturbed by machines and so-called progress. This is a small country and this is our last real frontier," he said.

Several companies have taken up the challenge and have begun to organize action tours on camelback, in jeeps and on foot. But the NRA has warned that some of the jeeps are disturbing the natural habitats of deer and other animals as they stir up the dust. The army is another troublesome factor, carrying up large tracts of undeveloped land for its training grounds and firing ranges, and sometimes destroying precious flora and fauna.

## 'Freeman' Peres is the big hope

Liora Moriel

AFTER ONLY six months of operation, the Assembly of Negev Representatives, with a delegate from each of the 26 local and regional councils in the Negev and the surrounding area, has chalked up an impressive result: the establishment of the ministerial council for the development of the Negev, headed by Shimon Peres.

"We're giving him a chance to do something for the Negev as he promised," said Zvi Hazan, the assembly's chairman and driving force. "He did not hand the matter over to a senior clerk for action, by decided to attend to it in person."

"Peres has taken on three tasks as foreign minister and vice-premier. The peace process depends on King Hussein, the immigration of Soviet Jewry depends on Gorbachev. But the development of the Negev depends on Peres alone. That's why we made him a freeman of the Negev - so that he will act on our behalf."

In the United States this week, Peres is trying to interest Jewish industrialists in investing in viable enterprises in the region. He is accompanied by Prof. Haim Eilat, president of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

Hazan is not impressed by claims by others that their lobbying was behind Peres's decision to adopt the Negev.

"I don't care for the credit. I care for the results," he said. "The important thing is that we are an influential body only by reason of the fact that all 26 of us were elected directly by the people. What is important is that we got Peres and Arye Dulzin, president of the World Zionist Organization, together on this. It was they who decided to raise \$100 million for the Negev through a special task force. This is a promise that has yet to be realized."

HAZAN, a native of Brazil, is a member of Kibbutz Bror-Yayil and chairman of the Sha'ar HaNegev district council. He told *The Jerusalem Post* that the Negev cannot afford to pass up the opportunity of gaining public support and funds during Ben-Gurion's centennial. He recalls the missed opportunity of 1979, when the army left the Sinai but people did not settle in the Negev.

"We were living in imagined

prosperity and felt that nothing could go wrong. We ignored the signs - such as that young people were leaving places like Arad."

Hazan works around the clock on plans for the all-round development of the entire region. His desk is covered with files on health care, including bringing in mobile intensive-care units; road improvement and bridge-building so that important arteries will not be paralysed by rainfall; welfare schemes such as old-age homes and tourism.

With regard to the last, a ministerial committee recently visited the Negev and has approved a hotel for Mitzpe Ramon, to be built by the government's Mivnei Ta'asia company and eventually to be run by one of the large chains.

THEY ARE also asking the government to set up a regional scientific research institute to deal with the subject of water. "We can't rely on fantastic rains like the present ones, that come once every 20 years," Hazan said.

He added that the proposed third pipeline to the Negev, which will bring treated sewage water from the Dan region, is important but still inadequate. "This will add 90 million cubic metres of water to farmers annually, but we need much more."

Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon, himself a resident of the south, has promised to bring industries to the region, but so far has been unsuccessful. The beer-bottling plant destined for Yeroham, with a massive government infusion of funds, was in the end never built there, for example.

"Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has promised to place the Negev on his agenda," said Hazan. "Our task is to have our finger forever on the pulse of the government to see that things get done here."

Because the Negev is perceived as the natural frontier for massive immigration, Hazan has suggested that the Negev adopt Soviet Jewry and establish an international lobby for this purpose.

One of the plans now under discussion calls for Russian-language pamphlets on the Negev to be distributed in the USSR and in Vienna to try to attract potential immigrants to the Negev. Today, there are 28,000 Soviet Jews in the south.

## The argument for regional autonomy

David Krivine

IN the beginning, in the days of Ben-Gurion, the Negev had a promising future, but those hopes have been dashed. Israel's southern desert has remained an underdeveloped area: so has the Galilee. Peripheral zones do not have a chance under Israel's centralized system of government, says Yehuda Gradus, professor of geography (and dean of the faculty of humanities and social science) at Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba.

Eilat became a tourist paradise - but it did not become a regional growth centre. A city gets to be a growth centre if it transmits growth impulses to its hinterland. Eilat's hinterland provides it with a picturesque backdrop and little else.

Not that the Negev region is altogether torpid. Its population has risen steadily from 15,000 to 300,000. Beersheba - endowed with a big general hospital and a full-size university - accounts for a large percentage of that. The government has tried its best, granting tax rebates to approved investments. But with the notable exception of the Israel Chemicals group, most industrial investments have not taken root. Nor have the townships created between Beersheba and Eilat.

IT cannot be otherwise. The Negev is doomed to stagnate owing to the structure of the political system in Israel. At present everything is concentrated at the centre.

According to neo-classical economic theory that ought to be good. The government controls all re-

sources and decides how they should be distributed according to its scale of priorities. The assumption is that the government's scale of priorities is based on an objective consideration of the national interest.

Unfortunately that is not always the case. In practice the democratic system is weighted in favour of pressure groups. The question is which pressure groups have pride of place. In Israel it is the political parties - and under the existing electoral system they too are concentrated at the centre. The provinces have no say.

To quote Gradus again, "The constituent units of the Israeli state are not territorially based but ideologically based." If I may risk a remote comparison: the U.S. is often mock-ed for not being ideologically enough. No great or basic policy differences divide the Republicans from the Democrats. Representatives tend to fight for local interests, and that is considered primitive.

But is it? The decentralization of power among 50 states has made each of them a mini-republic, self-dependent, in charge of its own affairs. Instead of being supplicants dependent on handouts from Washington, the provinces build up their own resources with their own efforts. The dynamic of development is widely distributed over every part of the U.S., and this may be one reason why the country is so well off.

The Negev wants more money for

development. But it does not provide many votes. And the centralized political parties impose priorities on the government in accordance with their interests.

If the voting system were changed and elections based on constituencies, the regions would have a voice in political affairs.

Electoral reform however is not enough. The whole system of lining up with begging-bowls outside the Treasury and the Knesset Finance Committee is destructive. The Negev should not be demanding income, it should be creating it.

Gradus suggests dividing Israel into four regions: Galilee, coastal plain, Jerusalem and Negev. Each should have its own elected council, its own administration, its own tax-collecting powers, its own budget. At whose expense would the regions draw their authority? At the expense (I suggest) of both the central government and the municipalities. The mayors of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv want bigger prerogatives. Let their sphere of control, almost regional already, become fully regional and let them have those prerogatives.

It will not make a great deal of difference to Jerusalem and Tel Aviv because they are privileged already. They are the core locations of economic activity, capital-formation, political decision-making.

PERIPHERAL regions like the

Negev, on the other hand, would benefit greatly. At present, they are sub-systems with limited access to finance, markets, means of production, sources of investment, cultural activities or anything else. The problem is not unique to Israel. The uneven development of territories is a holdup in other countries' too, leading to a renaissance of regionalism.

Gradus believes the gap is growing between the affluent core of Israel and the (relatively) impoverished outskirts. "Citizens of the periphery still bear a terrible grudge against the once-reigning Labour establishment for having dumped them in remote isolated towns and left them there in a state of benign neglect."

Their votes have gradually shifted away from Labour to Likud. Examining 22 towns in Israel's northern and southern peripheries, Gradus shows that at the 1965 elections Labour had a clear majority of votes in every single one. By 1981, the Likud had a majority in nine places. Moreover in 1965 it did not glean more than 28 per cent of the poll anywhere. In 1981 it had more than 40 per cent in each city.

This change is a protest against the Labour-created centralistic system, in Gradus's view. The paradox is that the Likud is even less concerned with regional decentralization than Labour. It is blocking electoral reform. Besides, it has special interests of its own, notably: the occupied areas.

THE NEGEV is trying to find a

voice, with no great result. An Assembly of the Negev was set up by the head of the Sha'ar HaNegev District Council, Zvi Hazan.

Jaques Amir, mayor of Dimona, has shepherded through the Knesset a Negev Law, but it has no teeth. Benjamin Carmel, due to become mayor of Beersheba in April, has formed a further organization for "Negev in the Year 2000."

All these have little effect, in Gradus's opinion. If the Negev were given regional self-government, that would be different. A new spirit would blow over this wasteland, the local population would take their destiny in hand. New forces would be attracted to have a part in a dramatic process of growth and development. Entrepreneurial attitudes would emerge: the zone would be made productive, creating its own resources.

The modern trend world-wide is towards decentralization, at all levels. In economics it is called privatization, in administration it is called regionalism. The idea is to let development come from below instead of being delegated from above.

Giving independence - to universities, TV channels, business companies, geographical regions - is a liberating process. If the Negev were permitted to run its own affairs, the place would be unrecognizable ten years from now, Gradus is sure of that. If it is kept in its present quasi-colonial status, it will remain what it is today - and apathetic backwater.



Part of the Makhteshim chemical works in the desert industrial park. (Mula Haramaty)

## Desert industries

Liora Moriel

WHEN THE Negev was first industrialized in the 1950s, nobody cared about what it did to the air, the earth or the water. The important thing was to bring jobs to the wasteland. The Makhteshim Chemical Works, for example, was set up in Beersheba in 1952 to produce insecticides. At the time, the plant was on the farthest edge of the town; today, it is not quite in the centre, but too near for comfort.

For many years, citizens complained of noxious fumes from the plant. In 1976, public pressure resulted in the government's decision to move the plant's installations, as well as those of the Dead Sea Bromine Company, 12 km. to the south, thereby initiating the Ramat Hovav Industrial Park.

There are now five plants in the park, all of them profitable - and polluting. As the directors are fond of explaining, "We don't make chocolate." What they do make are important products with a growing world market. Last year alone, the five plants combined to make \$160 million for Israel abroad.

Part of that money is invested in trying to improve the ecology they harm. Soil samples are studied and the water is checked periodically. Soon, the air will also be monitored.

The plants set up their own local council, because the government failed to establish a proper authority to inspect the park's compliance with environmental laws. The council has hired its own adviser on problems of dangerous industrial wastes. He has already come up with a controversial scheme for speeding up the evaporation of fluid wastes through vaporization.

One of the park's problems is that it is linked with the 200-dunam national toxic-waste disposal site on its northern perimeter.

The site plays an important part in ensuring that dangerous materials are disposed of safely. Before it was operational, experts believed that some 90 per cent of these toxic wastes were dumped illegally in ravines, abandoned quarries and even down the drain. While in the beginning the site was run inefficiently, today it is trying to put some order into the sorting, burial and treatment of dangerous wastes.

The Makhteshim Chemical Works still has some facilities in Beersheba, but it is now preparing a special pipeline that will pump its polluting fluid wastes beyond the city limits and, eventually, to the Ramat Hovav Industrial Park where it will be treated along with the rest of the dangerous fluids generated by the chemical industries there. These employ thousands of local workers and constitute an important economic base for the Negev.

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# Abraham Rabinovich writes of Mordechai Vanunu's troubled search for an identity

## The man who wanted to be somebody

MORDECHAI VANUNU, one of society's invisible men, said "notice me" last year when he posed nude for an art class at Ben-Gurion University.

He said it again when, in a brief space of time, he turned Christian, turned Communist, became an advocate of the Palestinian cause, went into voluntary exile and was arrested for selling his country's nuclear secrets.

A study of this man has less to do with splitting of atoms or divided loyalties than with a sardonic personality desperately seeking fusion with its missing parts.

A fairly clear picture of Vanunu's haunted personality emerges from the numerous interviews given to reporters in the past week by former high-school classmates, army mates and university acquaintances — almost none of whom described himself or herself as a friend. Their testimony makes it evident that the nuclear renegade who was mysteriously wafted from Europe into an Israeli detention cell a little while ago was himself betrayed some time in his youth by forces in life too great for him to handle.

Vanunu was nine years old when his family immigrated to Israel from Marrakesh in 1963, part of the mass immigration of Moroccan Jews who were settled by the government in raw development towns and mosh-

vim around the country, to fill in the nation's map. Moroccans constituted the largest of the Jewish "ethnic" groupings settling in Israel from countries around the world, but they occupied the bottom of the social scale. The bulk of the educated and moneyed Jews leaving Morocco had chosen to settle in France and Canada where they quickly re-established themselves in business and the professions. The less-worldly Jews who emigrated to Israel from the teeming *mellahs* or ghettos of Moroccan cities and the remote Atlas Mountains adjusted with relatively little complaint to the often harsh living conditions, which were all the newly-established country could provide, and with gratitude at being able to live in a Jewish state.

The Vanunus were directed to Beersheba where they were given an apartment in *Shchunat Daled* (D neighbourhood), an area of faceless apartment blocs whose name reflects its anonymity. Their neighbours, like themselves, were large families, mostly from Morocco, living in cramped conditions. The elder Vanunu, Solomon, a devoutly Orthodox Jew, was addressed as rabbi by fellow congregants in the small synagogue he frequented, but he earned his living in the marketplace of Beersheba selling religious artifacts from a stall.

Mordechai was the second of eight

children and his father's admitted favourite. At age 14, Mordechai was enrolled by Solomon in the Wolfson Yeshiva in Beersheba, affiliated with the national-religious Bnei Akiva movement. A fellow student from that period told *Ma'ariv* reporter Aharon Dolev that Mordechai had started off as a good student but slowly lost momentum. "He became indifferent and withdrawn. It became necessary to make him do things, even to clean the yard when it was his turn on the roster."

Indifference bordering on alienation would continue to mark Vanunu during his regular army service, when he became a squad commander in the engineering corps. The men in his unit saw him as lacking in initiative and shirking responsibility when he could. Men from his reserve army unit with which he later served in Lebanon remember him — those who remember him at all — as withdrawn, surly, strange.

WHEN VANUNU enrolled in Beersheba University in 1978, he was "a Kahanist hawk," according to fellow students. Such extreme right-wing views were common in the neighbourhood in which he grew up. He began working in the nuclear reactor in Dimona after responding to a newspaper advertisement for technicians and undergoing security screening.



Mordechai Vanunu had emerged from his army service into a new world, one in which the values and perceptions with which he had been raised seemed to have no place, as he sought to find his own way. He had left his *kippa* behind, never attended high-school class reunions or met with childhood friends. He visited his parents less and less. He earned a good salary at Dimona, attempting to play the stock market when that became the national pastime, and was badly hurt when the market crashed.

It was at the university, however, that he hoped to break through into that other society — not the humble one that his parents had gratefully settled into, but the glittering, educated society that plainly ran the country. His academic efforts, however, were largely a frustration. He tried his hand at studying economics and fared badly. He transferred to geography and when he did badly there as well, moved on to philosophy. "We used to ask him 'Nu, Motti, what are you going to try next year?'" recalled a fellow student last week. Vanunu was deeply offended by these sallies and would turn away without answering.

Shut off from his old world and unable to break into the new, his frustrations turned into a deep and growing bitterness. At first this was directed at the Ashkenazim. "He projected a deep sense of deprivation," says Dr. Zeev Tsahor, a history lecturer to whom Vanunu occasionally vented his feelings. "He assumed Ashkenazi dominance in Israel that encompassed all social strata and an Ashkenazi consensus closing off all possibilities of advancement for oriental Jews."

In time, Vanunu's anti-Ashkenazi feelings became anti-Jewish and

anti-Israeli. He became the principal spokesman for the Arabs on the Beersheba campus, arguing their case with a growing passion that fellow Jewish students saw assuming an irrational intensity. At a quickening pace, Vanunu's personality underwent an almost total transformation.

The former "Kahanist hawk" had become an outspoken advocate not only for Arab student rights but for the Palestinian cause; he applied for membership in the Israeli Communist Party. The former yeshiva boy had not only severed any connection with Orthodoxy but reportedly made contact with the Anglican church in Ramallah. The formerly bashful young man, not known ever to have had an Israeli girl friend, responded to an advertisement for a nude male model for a university art class and posed twice. He wanted to do so again but was not invited back as he could not stand still. However, at a student party he suddenly rose and stripped naked, saying later that he was testing himself to see whether he could bring himself to do it.

Vanunu had reached the point of ultimate testing. At the beginning of this year, at age 32, he set off for the Far East, telling acquaintances he was going there to find himself. Within a few months, Rabbi Solomon's son had been baptized and the Dimona nuclear technician had sold what purported to be his country's nuclear secrets to the *Sunday Times*. Reading about himself now in the Israeli prison where he is awaiting trial, Mordechai Vanunu may feel that he has finally broken through.

The story of Mordechai Vanunu serves to show that the secrets of the human soul remain far deeper and more complex than the secrets of the atom.

FOR THIRTY YEARS historians and politicians have been looking at the causes of the Suez crisis of 1956 through the wrong end of the telescope. As a result they saw the entire operation out of focus — and nothing more so than the issue of collusion.

It is astonishing that this should have happened again at the conference of over 200 international Suez experts which met last month at the Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba.

This upside-down reading of the Suez crisis at Beersheba is all the more surprising considering the academic, military and diplomatic weight of the participants — and in view of the documentary and personal evidence that is now available.

Thus, anyone of the shrinking band of survivors who had been privy to Ben-Gurion's private views at the time must have been aware that the seeds of the so-called Sinai Campaign — it was, in fact, the war for the Negev — had taken firm root by the end of 1955.

In this context, nothing could be more mistaken than the assumption that Ben-Gurion's "Diaries" (which became available to academics and students next month) always accurately record Ben-Gurion's innermost thoughts or intentions. When he wrote them, his principal purpose was to record, but his powerful secondary urge was to educate rather than inform future readers. This was an all-consuming passion with him.

In a way, he wanted to educate the Jewish people from beyond the grave. In terms of historical evidence, therefore, the "Diaries" have to be assessed with discretion — especially on the Suez question.

For Ben-Gurion knew from early spring 1955 about the Anglo-American plan which had been given the code name "Alpha". It was knowledge of the general aim of the plan, if not all the constantly changing details, that caused him to prepare himself for a showdown with Nasser — and later — with his own foreign minister, Moshe Sharett.

Yet "Alpha" has remained the missing factor in all Suez histories — British, French, American, Israeli and Arab. This accounts for the totally distorted picture in which the centre-piece is the secret and reprehensible collusion of Britain and France with Israel.

As we shall see, "Alpha" was the initial collusion that sparked the Suez crisis. It was not, however, collusion with Israel but Anglo-American collusion with Nasser against Israel.

## How they plotted to take the Negev away

Jon Kimche

ated account of his tour of the region and discussions held in all the major Middle Eastern countries. This became the working text for "Alpha".

Shuckburgh concluded that in order to preserve British influence (amended to read western influence so as to tempt the Americans), it was necessary to deal with two main irritants, blocking the way "to a working relationship with Nasser," who was considered the key influence in the Arab world.

The first of these irritants was the presence of 80,000 British troops in the Suez Canal zone, and the other was "the greatest irritant of all, Israel." It was this prescription that alarmed Ben-Gurion as far back as March 1955, judging by my notes of private conversations with him.

On the strength of his report, Shuckburgh was deputized by Eden and Dulles to prepare, together with his opposite number in the State

what was in the wind and decided to pre-empt the Anglo-Americans and set his own terms for participating in the "Alpha" collusion against Israel.

He authorised his minister of national guidance, Saleh Salem, to go public and this is just what Salem did on 20 March 1955, in a big way. According to a Foreign Office minute attached to the report of Salem's proposal, Nasser had earlier discussed these terms with minister of state, Anthony Nutting and had met with no evident rebuff.

Nasser had also met Eden the previous month and had come away from both the Nutting talk in October 1954 and the discussion with Eden, satisfied that the British concept of "Alpha" essentially followed his own way of thinking. He would undertake to safeguard the Suez Canal and its uninterrupted functioning and in case of war (in which Israel would not be involved) would

creasingly worried. Not only by the American stance but also by his own foreign minister and some of his senior officials. The Americans were targeting Sharett as a possible buyer of the modified "Alpha" plan. Some of Sharett's responses to Dulles during their meeting in Washington could be taken as ambivalent, to say the least.

By late September, Eden reported to Dulles that "Alpha" was going well and that he proposed to initiate a new phase with a personal intervention when he addressed the Lord Mayor's banquet at the Guildhall, on 9 November 1955.

Eden's speech was to be the set piece for the decisive phase of "Alpha" before the pressures of the American presidential campaign intervened. It was carefully prepared. Nasser was consulted at every stage. During the last 48 hours before Eden rose to speak, the British ambassador had seen Nasser four times before the latter had approved every dot and comma of Eden's Guildhall speech.

IT WAS THE CROWNING act of the "Alpha" collusion that was to put Israel on the spot. Eden made his speech. He was prepared to mediate between Israel and her Arab neighbours on the basis of the 1947 UN Partition Resolution and the 1949 armistice boundaries. Whatever fine points the Foreign Office put on the speech, it was seen as the British signal to the Arab world.

Nasser sent a message approving Eden's text and then went public and put his own gloss on the Guildhall terms. The price for a Palestine settlement, as he called it, was not only that Israel must accept the 1947 partition boundaries and the transfer of the Negev from Beersheba to Eilat, to Egypt, but that Jordan too, should agree to the establishment of an Arab Palestine west of the Jordan. Hussein, with Glubb still at his side, assured his people that the Arab Legion would soon reconquer Palestine.

And in Baghdad, the security chiefs of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon, met to concert plans "to combat Zionism".

In Washington, Francis Russell met with Shuckburgh who told him that Eden felt something should be done to reassure Israel that she would not be asked to give up the whole Negev. The Americans objected to this. In Russell's words, as recorded in a top secret despatch to the Foreign Office, "it would be a pity to do anything which would reduce the pressure on the Israelis at this moment... The U.S. government has made it plain to Mr. Sharett that they regarded a concession in the Negev as the touchstone of Israeli sincerity in seeking a settlement."

On 20 January 1956, Ben-Gurion — now again prime minister — placed Israel on an emergency footing and instructed the Histadrut to prepare for a call-up of 250,000 in the event of war, not 100,000 as hitherto.

The road to Suez had been charted by "Alpha"; what followed afterwards was almost incidental. For Ben-Gurion the target was to break the Nasser-Eden-Dulles alliance designed to wrest the Negev from Israeli sovereignty — and to do this by whatever means were at hand. He did so, ironically, in the company of the reluctant progenitor of "Alpha" — Anthony Eden.

## THE MIRAGE NEGEV & REALITY

Department, Francis Russell, detailed proposals for a settlement on the lines which had been discussed: Nasser's friendship for the West in return for a place in the Negev.

Dulles was in a hurry. They had only about twelve months, he told Eden, before pressure from the Jewish lobby in the forthcoming presidential election made it impossible to impose the necessary concessions on Israel.

Accordingly, Shuckburgh and Russell started work at the State Department in Washington under conditions of the highest secrecy. Messages to London had to travel by locked box only and to be returned to the Green Division for custody. Neither the British cabinet nor the embassies in Cairo and Tel Aviv were to know. The French and the Israelis were to be kept in the dark.

Prime Minister Churchill was not informed.

Nasser was not told either. But — like Ben-Gurion — he had private sources in Washington. Nasser knew

provide base facilities for the British and Americans.

In return for this there would be a territorial settlement which would entail the transfer of the Negev, including Beersheba, to Arab rule and Israel's acceptance of the 1947 partition boundaries. In exchange for the Negev transfer, Israel would be able to hold on to Western Galilee.

THAT WAS THE "Alpha" deal in the raw. Its publication by Egypt greatly embarrassed the British and Americans because they had planned a deal that would be acceptable to Nasser but not so totally objectionable to Israel. Secret talks followed with Nasser and his foreign minister, Mahmoud Fawzy, and it was agreed by Cairo, London and Washington to exercise the greatest secrecy concerning further discussions.

Dulles asked Eden to impress on Nasser the need for a speedy agreement. Nasser should "take advantage while there is still time of the relatively favourable policy of the present U.S. administration towards the Arabs." Israel's confidence and pretensions had been reduced to a comparatively low ebb by the policy of the United States. Moreover, the U.S. would make it clear to Israel that Israel's prospect of getting security guarantees and military and economic aid from the U.S. would be gravely prejudiced if she failed to collaborate with the overall American proposals.

This marked the end of the first phase of the "Alpha" proposals. Ben-Gurion was becoming in-

Teleview/Philip Gillon

## Crime-busters all

THE HEARTS of all of us in Israel must have gone out to those three lovely young women, who were the victims of such terrible crimes, as we watched in fascinated horror Israel Television's new programme, *Crime Investigation*. The waste and pity were blood-chilling. Our only consolation is that one of them survived, largely through the power of her own will.

Somewhere out there in the darkness of the night, I hope the guilty man (if it was just one man) was cowering, and feeling the weight of the national revulsion he had inspired. Perhaps he will be driven by the reconstruction of his crimes to confess his guilt.

There were two approaches to viewing the programme. One was to consider it from the public service point of view: through it the police were appealing to the nation for help. The other was to watch it as a novel type of TV docudrama thriller, taking off from where *The Chelsea Murders* left us the previous night.

The second approach involved deriving some sort of "entertainment" from the sad fate of these beautiful women. This reaction, although inevitable and intended by the producers, naturally gave my conscience a chance to rage at me in fury for being "entertained" by such horrors. I let it rage.

A further complication was that the producers used Rafi Ginat, of *Kolbeteq*, as the compere. He did a very good job indeed. But the sight of him firing questions at the policemen resulted, by a sort of conditioned reflex, in my expecting him to quiz them about their sins of omission and commission, as he would have done in his usual programme. After a while, fortunately, I got used to him in a new role, trying to present his guests in the most favourable light possible.

The production as a whole was very good, one of the best things Israel Television has done: Ginat and director Yossi Tsemach, and the cameramen, are to be congratulated on a remarkable achievement. Despite the marathon length of the show — the English original on which it is based is far shorter — my interest never flagged for a moment.

Indeed, I found the news at nine a disturbing irritant, and the Italian so-called entertainment, the second interruption, an exasperating bore. Fortunately, Jordan came to the rescue with *Strangers and Brothers*, a serial Israel must get.

Actually, the third part of *Crime Investigation* was a very disappointing anti-climax. I suppose that I have been conditioned by the thousands of thrillers I have seen and read to expect a denouement in the final episode or chapter as a *sine qua non* of such a product. Here we had waited for 55 minutes with ever-increasing impatience to learn what the programme had achieved, only to be fobbed off with a lengthy recapitulation of what we had seen, some statistics of how many calls had been received and some hints that some of these had given the police very important leads.

We gathered that these leads included phoned-in reports of rapes or attempted rapes in very similar cir-

cumstances. Later I read in the press that six such cases in the Negev had been disclosed for the first time. I think, however, that Tsemach must find some way, in future programmes, to save the final part of the show from bathos.

The re-enactment of the first two crimes was so realistic that I hope no children were watching. In the third case, the murder of Lucy Amos, there was more restraint and some blurring in the presentation of how the crime was committed. Nor in this case did the programme's makers deal at all with the possibility that this victim might have known the man in the 1983 Subaru, bearing in mind that she had been warned not to take lifts from strangers.

There were other gaps in the vast array of facts with which we were bombarded. Presumably, in the first two crimes, bullets were recovered. I expected to hear from ballistic experts whether these were fired from the same weapon, or at least that the experts could not tell if they were. They surely could have said, at least, what was the calibre of the bullets. Such evidence seems relevant to the question of whether the same man committed the two crimes.

The police have obviously done a stupendous amount of hard work. Yet I was surprised that there are still 200 white Subaru '85 models unchecked in Israel. Fifteen months have elapsed since the first crime was committed. Where are these 200 Subarus? What is causing the hold-up in checking them?

I wonder whether the police were wise to notify the criminal that they had the number of the Minolta camera. If he still has it in his possession, he will now destroy it. But I must admit that this particular revelation seems to have produced many phone calls, so I am probably wrong when I question the wisdom of the announcement.

Considering the docudrama as a film meant to "entertain" us, I found it enthralling, despite the fact that it moved at so slow a pace. The police officers, particularly Pakad Yossi Ben Ami, were photogenic, sincere and intelligent. Nitsav Shimon Tal was most impressive. I am sure that the investigation is in good hands.

The programme might have been augmented by a psychiatrist or psychologist giving us a psychological identikit of the criminal to go with the physical identikit. What sort of man gets his kicks from rape and murder? Is he attracted by the helplessness or the resistance of his victim? Does he get an added thrill from killing her, or does he murder only as a practical precaution against being identified? What pushed him outside the pale of humanity — was he denied the breast by his mother, or locked up in a dark cupboard by his father?

We all go through exactly the same problems, and feel the same rejection, even if we are sabras or veterans. Why, on the very same *Kolbeteq* we were taken to an Israeli version of Dante's *Inferno*, the Bezek offices in Jerusalem, where we met people who had been shuffled around from clerk to clerk for six hours without getting anywhere.

Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsar made an excellent point: he said that immigrants suffer more than other Israelis because while we only have to deal with one thing at a time, they have everything concentrated into their first three months. Getting documents from the Ministry of Interior office in Jerusalem: getting a mortgage; getting assets through the customs; finding a home; getting transfer of a property; getting a phone; getting gas laid on; getting a Kupa Holim card; getting a driver's licence; getting a car — we have all had to do these things, and still have to do some of them from time to time.

But, as Tsar indicated, we don't try to do them all simultaneously, and we also know from past experience where to go, when offices are open, what documents are needed. And we don't try to learn Hebrew at the same time. If Sharon or Hava had ever tried to do so many new things at the same time in Canada or the U.S., they would probably have found life there almost as overwhelming and paralytic, although done in English.

Despite all the difficulties, I hope that they will settle down in Israel. I gathered that Sharon is unmarried; we were given no indication of Hava's marital status. There is a further pitfall about which I must warn them: in the old days, an unscrupulous adventurer might have married an unmarried olah for her rights, now he does so in order to get a green card when he induces her to take him to the U.S.

THE WEIRD Vanunu affair resulted in some strange television news items, but nothing to compare for sheer zaniness with the late-night news interview with Knesset Member Geula Cohen.

By the time we get to the late news, after four hours of dedicated viewing, I am supine in an armchair, half-dozing. But Ms. Cohen brought me out of that chair like a rocketing pheasant when she proclaimed her doctrine that anybody on the Left, including members of the Peace Now movement and the Alignment, must be barred from any sensitive post.

Since then she has tried to tone down her remarks by saying that they applied only to the extreme Left. I had the clear impression that she included Peace Now and the Alignment among the proposed victims of her taboo, i.e., she wants it to apply to about half the country. In due course, no doubt, she will propose that all these Jews should be expelled, together with all the Arabs, so as to leave Israel a fit place in which heroes and heroines of the Right can plan further expansion of the borders.

Another outcome of the Vanunu affair, and of the arrest of Jewish millionaires, is that we have become aware of the vast powers of arrest, and detention without bail prior to trial, which the police have inherited from the inhumane laws passed by the Mandatory regime.

It is one thing to use those laws to keep Arabs on the West Bank in order by imprisoning them indefinitely without trial, or expelling them by edict. If those Arabs don't like it, they know what they can do. But it is quite another thing to use the laws to oppress Jews as well.

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## Controversy accompanies Elitzur's successes

By PAUL KOHN

Elitzur, the sports organization of religious Jews, has come a long way in recent years. In numbers and branches Elitzur now claims to be the third largest sports body in Israel, after Hapoel and Maccabi, and well ahead of Bnei Akiva.

But along with the sporting successes has also come bitter internal controversy. At the very peak of the Elitzur pyramid, a metamorphosis in identity has clearly taken place, and many are not happy about it.

"Elitzur is not Elitzur Netanya's basketball team," declared members of the association will tell you. But none can deny that it is Elitzur Netanya who are the flagbearers and who have hogged nearly all the Elitzur publicity.

Elitzur Netanya finished runners-up to Maccabi Tel Aviv in the National Basketball League at the end of last season. They made their debut in European Cup competition earlier this month, being ousted only by the brilliant Italian squad Cantu.

The elevation of Elitzur to the rarefied heights of European competition was due to imported black players from the U.S. It is they who wore the tablets of Moses and candelabra emblem of Elitzur to the total exclusion of home grown, religious hoopsters. The only local player to gain a place in the opening five was Danny Bracha, who does not claim to be observant in the religious sense. Two of the American players are Jewish by virtue of converting to the faith, one way or another, and another is by birth.

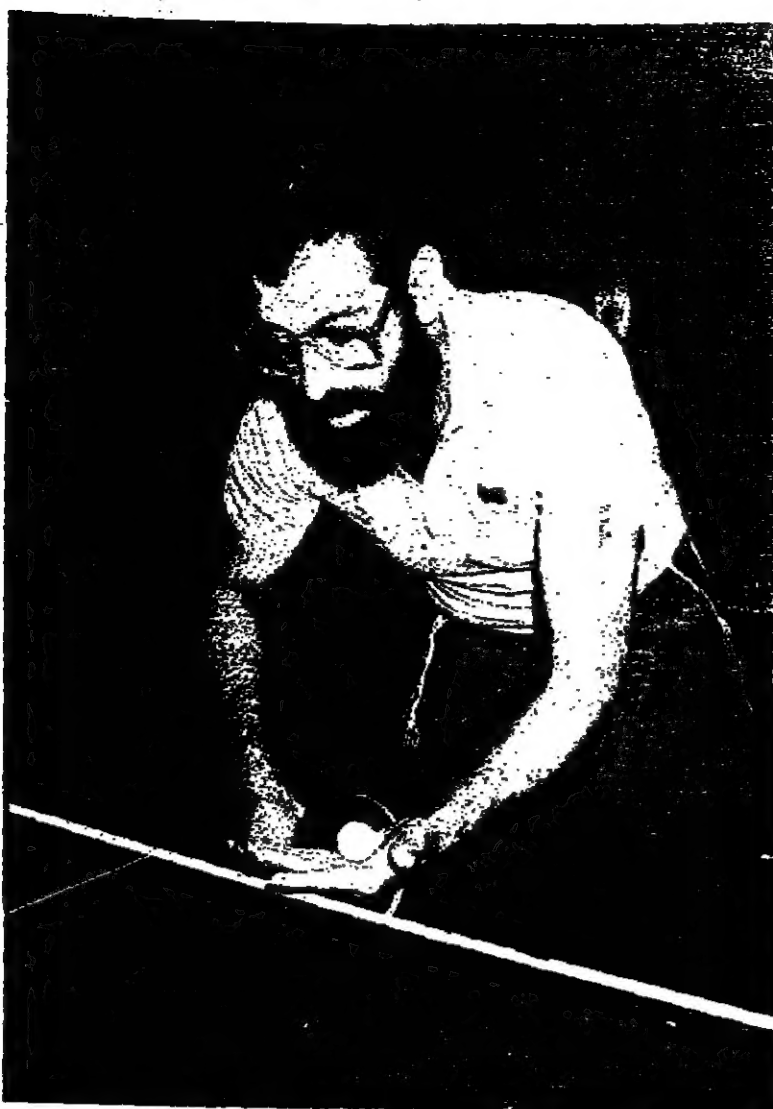
Those who employed them didn't ask too many questions on that score, or as said in religious circles, "did not examine their tzitzit," which surprised quite a few of the Orthodox faithful. Says Ze'ev Braverman, the secretary-general of Elitzur for the past 15 years, "We did not convert them, or bring them from America, but received them as they were from Hapoel Tel Aviv and Hapoel Afula."

The composition of the Elitzur Netanya basketball squad was clearly a departure from the traditional image of Elitzur, Braverman admits. It was a decision taken by the Netanya branch, but there was now a national Elitzur stand to reduce the number of outsider players.

The religious kibbutz movement has come out strongly against the Netanya action, but may find it is swimming against the current. It will not be easy to reverse the trend that took Elitzur Netanya close to the pinnacle of Israeli basketball.

Another Elitzur success story is the Tel Aviv women's basketball squad, who have won the national championship for the past ten years. In that time they have also been cup winners seven times. The Elitzur women played in Prague last week but there, too, Spartak took them out of the European Cup. "All the girls (but the one foreign contract player Yolanda Fletcher) grew up within Elitzur from the ages of 10 and 11. Even if they are no longer strictly Orthodox, I would say most of them observe Jewish tradition. At least, no Elitzur team or athlete plays on Shabbat," said Braverman, who personally played a major role in strengthening sports with the organization.

Much more in tune to the Orthodox image of Elitzur is their top table tennis player, Mike Bush, an immigrant from the U.S., currently studying at the Esh Hakotel Yeshiva in Jerusalem. He needed some persuading, but now plays - *tzitzit* flying - for Elitzur Tel Aviv in the National



**MORE IN TUNE.** - Elitzur's top table tennis player Mike Bush is one of the best in the country.

League and is one of the best players in the country.

The religious attitude to gambling and lotteries has also become blurred. In any event, Elitzur is quite happy to take 80 per cent of its budget from Sportoto, which gets all of its money from its football pool monopoly.

Within Elitzur, and the religious community, the arguments continue about the drift in identity. Should Elitzur adapt to the reality of sport in Israel, or should it adhere strictly to its ideology, is a dilemma not resolved.

Elitzur was formed in 1938, given its name by Rabbi Zvi Neria (later an MK), Rabbi Meir Berlin (Bar-Ilan) and Yehiel Eliash, the founder of the Bnei Akiva youth movement in this country. Set up as a sports organization, it also provided the framework within which young religious people received military training.

Elitzur became part of the Hagana, and their members were taught the use of weapons and how to sail the boats that later played a valuable role in Aliya Bet rescue operations. In its early years, sports were marginal in Elitzur.

Elitzur easily slotted into the National Religious Party, but was among its smallest wings. The party faithful given the Elitzur's sincere "knew nothing about sports," Braverman recalled. Things changed in the 1950s when a small group of religious sports teachers urged the NRP to start taking sports seriously. "I saw how much sport was neglected among the religious youth, and as I wanted to change that, I decided to enrol at Wingate in order to become a qualified physical education teacher," Braverman said.

The sports expansion started with volleyball in the religious kibbutzim.

Sa'ad, Tirat Zvi, Yavne and Moshav Nir Etzion. Soon basketball began to flourish in Elitzur's city branches: Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem and Petah Tikva. Table tennis followed, and the Moshav Massout Yitzhak team won a place in the National League, in which Tel Aviv and Netanya branches now have teams. Elitzur athletes made their appearance in track and field and swimming.

Surprising, perhaps, was the large percentage of girls members. At no time did girls comprise less than a third of Elitzur's active athletes.

Today, Elitzur claims 20,000 active sportsmen and women in 130 branches. For Kiryat Shmona to Dimona, Elitzur is the most active of all sports associations over the Green Line, and challenges Hapoel in activities in all development towns. Elitzur's "new sports" are tennis, squash and judo.

The Elitzur showpiece is its Netanya branch, a club with the finest facilities. Next in size are the clubs in Rishon LeZion, Petah Tikva, Kiryat Ono, Kfar Ata, Tel Aviv and Bnei Brak.

The ultra-Orthodox have very few sportsmen within Elitzur clubs. The exception is in Bnei Brak, where the *haredi* boys love football and have a soccer team that plays in the 6th division - only on Fridays.

Elitzur is in the throes of expanding its activities among religious communities abroad. The first "Elitzur" in 1983 brought here nearly 1,000 competitors from 18 countries who contested ten sports. Braverman estimates that Elitzur in the Diaspora now numbers close to 5,000 members in 28 countries, including the U.S., Canada, Australia, South Africa, France, Belgium, Britain and several South American countries.

## TENNIS

### Czech humbles Mansdorf 6-3, 6-3

By DAVID HOROVITZ

Jerusalem Post Correspondent  
WEMBLEY. - "I blew it. I played terribly," said a thoroughly disgruntled Amos Mansdorf minutes after his comprehensive 6-3, 6-3 defeat in the second round of the Benson and Hedges tennis championships here yesterday. Mansdorf went down to Czechoslovakia's Libor Pimek.

"I just couldn't get used to his style," Mansdorf told me in his dressing-room after the match. "It's the first time I've played him, and I never got the hang of his service."

On court Mansdorf looked nothing like the player who had served and passed so brilliantly to destroy second seed Henri Leconte on Wednesday. His first serve was never firing smoothly, and he made numerous unforced errors, netting approach shots with depressing regularity and repeatedly volleying out of court. Mansdorf, indeed, looked tired from the outset, having come on to court just 18 hours after despatching Leconte. "It was bad that ours was the first game on court," he said afterwards. "I hadn't had time to relax after the other match. If we'd have played later, I'd have beaten him."

The lanky Czech, long hair flowing behind him as he chased every ball, made the most of Mansdorf's sluggishness. He had won the first set before Mansdorf had even begun to settle into his game, and broke serve again in the second set to force Mansdorf to serve at 5-3 to save the match.

Again playing in borrowed shoes - his locker was raided before his first game on Wednesday - Mansdorf netted an approach to go 0-15, had no answer to a fine forehand return to go 0-30, and pushed a forehand too far to face three match points. For a moment, Mansdorf rallied, two fine serves and a poor return from Pimek bringing the scores to deuce. But then he faltered again, hitting a backhand pass just a touch too hard and netting yet another approach shot to give the unseeded Czech the match.

Mansdorf's defeat was all the more disappointing because the seeds in this tournament have been dropping like flies: he would have had a fairly easy passage to the semi-finals if not the final itself.

It was perhaps some consolation for Mansdorf that a day earlier John McEnroe's long-awaited return to Britain ended in defeat in the opening round, and that the tournament also lost its top seed when Stefan Edberg lost too.

McEnroe, playing his first singles match in Britain for 17 months, was a pale shadow of his former self as he lost 6-3, 5-7, 6-4 to Australian Pat Cash.

But if McEnroe's defeat was a surprise, Edberg's exit was totally unexpected.

The Swede, ranked No. 4 in the world, had reached at least the semi-final stage of his last 10 Grand Prix events and recently won the Stockholm Open, thrashing countryman Mats Wilander in straight sets in the final.

But against the Czechoslovakian-born Jacob Hlasek, now based in Zurich, Switzerland, Edberg finally cracked.

While Hlasek, who lost to Mansdorf in the recent Davis Cup tie between Israel and Switzerland, played steady if unspectacular tennis, Edberg's game was littered with unforced errors, including seven double faults.

"I've played a lot of tennis and I'm tired," he said. "Eventually, the body finally says no."

For Hlasek, who had never won a set in three attempts against Edberg, victory was the best possible way to celebrate his 22nd birthday.

"Last night, I lost 10-8 in the third set of a doubles here and didn't get to bed until 4 a.m., it was so late," said Hlasek. "This more than made up for the disappointment."

Like Edberg, McEnroe, the No. 5 seed, was totally off his game in a scrappy, error-ridden match against Cash.

Playing singles in front of a British crowd for the first time since losing in the quarterfinals at Wimbledon last year, McEnroe received an ovation from the 6,000 spectators. The turnout was a record for the second evening of the annual Grand Prix

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**FULL STRETCH.** - Australian Pat Cash yesterday defeated John McEnroe, 6-3, 5-7, 6-4 at Wembley.

positioning slow and his volleying and groundstrokes sloppy.

Afterwards, McEnroe, who has fought his way back to No. 12 in the world despite a three Grand Prix tournament victories since his six-month layoff from the game, was furious with himself.

"It was a pathetic match," he said. "The tennis was simply horrible."

McEnroe said he had apologized to Cash for the way he played.

"I expected more of myself but I could not get going. I was playing so badly that in the second set, I pulled him down to my level. ... I could have played right-handed today and done better."

Cash, whose recent good form has taken him back to No. 34 in the world despite a season marred by injury, paid tribute to McEnroe.

"To me, he's still the greatest player of all time, although he was not up to standard today," Cash said.

The Australian, who had not taken a set off McEnroe in their two previous meetings, added: "I think he was tired. I should have won it in the second set. If I'd blown it, I'd have been feeling pretty disappointed."

For most of the match, he was expressionless, chewing gum continuously as he tried to find the shots to put away the determined Cash.

But apart from the occasional moment of magic, when he took the ball characteristically early and wrong-footed his opponent, there was little of the vintage McEnroe.

Instead, his timing was off, his

## Women's day in Haifa

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. - Local girls Zehavit Gal-On, Ilana Berger and Dahlia Coriat are among the last eight in the Vanessa Phillips women's satellite series, now taking place in Haifa. But not one Israeli yesterday reached the men's singles quarterfinals of the ATP Frankel satellite tournament.

On a day blessed by glorious sunshine, main home hope Amit Naor, seeded sixth, suffered a shock 6-4, 4-6, 6-3 defeat at the hands of unseeded Christian Pottinger from West Germany. Boaz Merenstein

was beaten 6-2, 6-3 by Necmi Demir, the first Turkish tennis player to compete in a tournament here. Menashe Tsuri, who has shown up so well on the circuit, was trailing Switzerland's Dominik Hutschinger 1-6, 0-3 when he was forced to retire because of the heavy cold from which he is suffering.

In the WTA competition, Coriat scored a fine 6-4, 6-2 victory over Hungarian Susan Turi. Berger and Gal-On came comfortably through second-round matches against their respective home opponents Karen Mayer and Meirav Sharoni.

## SOCCER

### England reject charges of brutal play

LONDON. - A fierce row has broken out between the managers of England and Yugoslavia following England's 2-0 victory in the Group Four European Championship soccer match at Wembley on Wednesday night.

Yugoslavia chief Ivica Osim accused England of being brutal, following the suspected broken leg suffered by Semir Tucic in a challenge by Gary Mabbutt; the allegation was hotly denied by England boss Bobby Robson.

Osim said: "We knew we had to expect some aggression, but our players were not prepared for that." Asked about an incident when Chris Waddle was punched, Osim said: "I saw the punch, but it was still 12-1 to England."

Robson hit back, saying: "It was not brutal or dirty. There was always an intention to play the ball and there was nothing malicious. 'The injury to his substitute was unfortunate, but it was not intentional. It was a hard match, we were very competitive and so were the Yugoslavs. There was a lot to play for."

Though England are now well placed at the top of the group, Robson refused to tip his side to reach the finals. "There's too much football yet for anybody to be favourites. We are sitting pretty, but it will be very close between ourselves and Yugoslavia. The match in Belgrade next November will be a sizzler."

It was goals from recalled midfielder Gary Mabbutt and rightback Viv Anderson combined with several lucky misses by Yugoslav captain Zlatko Vujovic, which insured England's second win in the group.

The Yugoslavs, with Stokovic back in midfield after injury, played with commendable flair and skill and opened the middle of England's defence several times. But with Vujovic, a last-

trick hero in their 4-0 win over Turkey last month, failing to find his finishing touch they were unable to beat the inexperienced goalkeeper Chris Woods and in the second half resorted to scolding tactics.

Indeed, by the finish both teams had used two substitutes after incidents which resulted in Tucic and Steve Hodge being carried off on stretchers.

Hodge was unfortunate to clash heads with his teammate Glenn Hoddie who left the pitch briefly before returning, splattered with blood, swathed with bandages.

The bloody scenes at the end were out of character with the earlier action, however, and the match produced spells of refined and memorable teamwork.

A goal by Miguel "Michel" Gonzalez early in the second half gave Spain, runners-up in the last championship in 1984, a slender 1-0 victory over Romania in another key qualifying match.

Michel scored in the 57th minute for Spain on a cross from Juan Carlos Arceche, who brought the ball from midfield along the left sideline. It was enough to keep Spain, who lost in the 1984 final to France, atop in the Group 4.

Scotland had taken the game to the Spaniards in the first half with good ball control and counterattacks, while holding the home team back with a solid defence.

In Glasgow, Luxembourg manager Paul Phillip dismissed Scotland's hopes of qualifying for the finals after his side had been beaten 3-0 by the Scots.

Phillip believes Belgium will go forward to West Germany from Group Seven, rather than the Scots, even though they currently top the section. He reasoned: "There is a big difference in class between Scotland and Belgium, whom we played last month."

"From what I saw Belgium have five or six top class European players, while Scotland's best football player is Kenny Dalglish, who is also the oldest. I was very disappointed with the

## Conner gets one back

FREMANTLE (Reuters). - Dennis Conner proved his bid for the America's Cup was still very much alive as Stars and Stripes revelled in strong winds to defeat America II on the final race day of the second challenger elimination round yesterday.

Conner, beaten by Britain's White Crusader and Canada II in unseasonal light air in the past two days, mastered yesterday's 22 to 30 knot winds in which his yacht was designed to excel.

Stars and Stripes led at every mark and finished one minute 31 seconds ahead of the New York Yacht Club entrant.

Conner, the man who lost the America's Cup to Australia in 1983 and desperate to regain it for the U.S., moved back to third overall, within much closer striking distance of leader New Zealand and second-placed America II.

White Crusader dropped to joint fifth after a sensational defeat by French Kian - despite the French yacht having to replace a boom just minutes before the start.

Australia's campaign to defend the Cup also yielded some upsets with Perth millionaire Kevin Parry's Kookaburra IV beating Alan Bond's Australia IV.

Parry's Kookaburra III and II now hold the top two places in the America's Cup defender selections being run parallel to the challenger series.



**AIRBORNE.** - Spain's Rincón flies through the air with the greatest of ease, but misses the ball, in action against Romania. Spain won 1-0.

Scottish team. They are a long way from being a great team. They were very nervous in the first 20 minutes and I think that was because there was some pressure on them after two goalless draws in their previous games."

Scotland manager Andy Roxburgh admitted to being only "moderately happy" after his team's win. "When a team simply spoils, it makes life very difficult," he said.

David Cooper and Maurice Johnston had scored the 10-game goal drought for Scottish

forwards. Cooper struck twice - once from the penalty spot - in the first half against Europe's weakest team and Johnston added a third midway through the second period.

Greece, with veteran striker Niko Anastopoulos getting a goal and making the other, edged group 5 foes Hungary 2-1 in Athens; Czechoslovakia held talented Denmark to a 0-0 draw in a Group 6 meeting in Prague, and Turkey and Northern Ireland also drew 0-0 at Izmir.

Turkish coach Coskun Ozari resigned immediately after the Group 4 match. (AFP, Reuters, AP)



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ON JANUARY 1, 1987, Israel is supposed to get a taste of things to come under a reformed economic system. Under the terms of an accord signed with the European Economic Community, a 60 per cent reduction in customs on all imports from the Common Market, except agricultural goods, will be implemented. It will be one more step in the implementation of the agreement that has helped Israeli producers to market their wares in Europe during the last two decades.

The principle behind the accord is the mutual lifting of customs barriers. Europe complied with these terms during the past several years, and now it is Israel's turn. In 1989 the remainder of the customs charged on European imports will be scrapped. In the interim period, from January 1, 1987 to December 31, 1988, the customs on European imports will be set at 40 per cent of their current level.

Due to the Free Trade Area agreement signed in 1984 between Israel and the United States, the customs will also be reduced on imports from the U.S., albeit on a more limited basis. The reduction will be implemented on a more gradual basis, 10 per cent a year over a 10-year period.

BUT WHAT is in it for the Israeli consumer? Theoretically, he should be enjoying reduced retail prices. According to Ya'acov Arad, assistant director of the customs department, customs authorities want to see the consumer reap the benefits. The question is whether that will happen.

Customs are charged on 27 per

## Customs changes on EEC products on January 1

# Public may be last to benefit when imports become cheaper

Avi Temkin

cent of Israeli imports. Arad says that due to the lowering of customs barriers, the Treasury's revenue is about to fall by some \$200 million. If all the reductions in customs rates are translated into lower retail prices, the Consumer Price Index will fall by 1 per cent. The reduction in the cost of living would be equivalent to a monthly rebate averaging NIS 20 per Israeli family. The larger the family and the more it spends, the larger the rebate.

Twenty shekels does not sound like a great deal of money. Nevertheless, no one should dismiss the coming customs reductions. After all, averages conceal some of the most important aspects of the coming move from the point of view of the consumer. Take for instance consumer durables. They are the most heavily taxed goods in the economy. Thus, customs and purchase taxes make up 145 to 300 per cent of the basic price of new cars, 90 to 210 per cent of refrigerators, 140 per cent of TVs and dishwashers, 85 per cent of washing machines and 183 per cent of video tape recorders.

Obviously, any lowering of customs should lead to lower prices for

the consumer. According to Arad's calculations, the reduction in the retail price of new cars could be as high as 12 per cent, 7 to 10 per cent for TV sets, 3 to 5 per cent for dishwashers and 5 to 10 per cent for refrigerators.

THE QUESTION is whether all the benefits from these reductions will be passed on to the consumers. Several factors will determine the answer. There is the government, fearing a flood of imports; there are the importers and the dealers, wishing to pocket the windfall themselves, and there are the local industrialists, fearing that lower customs would mean more competition.

Concerning the government, one might have expected that six weeks before one of the major changes in Israel's fiscal system, government agencies would have a clear idea of what will happen and what moves to take. However, that is not the Israeli bureaucracy's way of doing things. Arad says that they are cooperating

with all other agencies preparing for the customs reductions. But other officials are less optimistic. They say that, except for the customs and the State Revenue administration, little thinking has been done on the impact of the coming move.

The Trade and Industry Ministry noticed that something was on the agenda only a few weeks ago. It has now established a unit to study the impact of the agreement on domestic industry. Hopefully, the survey will be ended before the end of the year. The Transport Ministry, which is going to have to decide on car prices in six weeks, says it has not been approached by the Treasury on this issue, meaning that any decision on the subject will be taken at the last minute.

Israeli consumers pay not only customs on the goods they buy, but also purchase tax and value added tax as well. In addition, Israel has devised a strange device, called Tama (an acronym for *Tosefet Michsat Ahusim*), to raise the price of

imports to the consumer. This is a percentage rate added for accounting purposes on import customs. This increases the sum of money on which purchase taxes are imposed, thereby raising the price to consumer.

Thus, if the government wants to prevent a reduction in consumer prices, it could raise the purchase tax or increase the Tama rate. But Arad dismisses such notions. He says Israel will stick to the terms of the agreement, and will not take measures to offset the reduction in customs. He does not deny that purchase taxes may be increased on a limited number of goods, but says this will have nothing to do with the reduced customs. He says this may happen for fiscal considerations, for balance of payments' reasons, but not due to the customs reductions' accord.

Other government officials are not as keen as Arad to see the accord honoured in spirit, as well as in letter. They would like to see the purchase tax or the Tama increased across the board, so as to offset the customs reductions. So far the customs' view has prevailed, and there-

fore, the customer will probably enjoy some lowered prices. But it is not clear how large this will be, and to which goods it will apply. The final decision on taxes will probably be taken in the coming week.

IMPORTERS also need to be taken into account. Assuming the government does decide to leave the purchase tax at its current level and to absorb the reduction in customs, then the importers could try to increase their profits simply by not reducing their prices.

In some areas, there are as many as four intermediaries between the producer of goods abroad and the local consumer. There is the importer, the wholesaler, the retailer. Each one will undoubtedly want a slice of the cake. Whether they will succeed or not depends in large part on the government ministries' attitude. Take for example the prices of imported cars from Europe. Their price could go down by as much as 12 per cent. But car prices are controlled. The Transport Ministry, with the approval of the Treasury, sets maximum prices, which then become the effective price charged by dealers. If the Transport Ministry does not lower maximum prices of cars on January 1, and the purchase tax is not raised, then the difference in lower customs will be pocketed by the dealers, not by the consumer.

So far the Transport Ministry has not indicated what it will do. Its spokesman told *The Jerusalem Post* this week that since the Treasury has not approached it, the subject has not been discussed by the Transport Ministry officials.

However, three months ago, the Transport Ministry did not wait for the Treasury to approach it when, as a result of the rise in the value of European currencies, it demanded, and got, a hike in authorized consumer prices for European cars. In fact, there are government officials who suspect that the Transport Ministry would like to see the consumer prices unchanged. They say the ministry is not likely to agree to a move that may encourage the public to buy more cars, given the existing overburdened roads system. Another reason for not lowering prices may be the special rapport between the ministry and the dealers.

Local industrialists will also be affected by the coming move. After all, many have for years benefited from a monopoly due to high customs barriers. Nevertheless, the impact of reduced customs on them is not as great as it may first appear. For Carmel Carpets, Dubek, Tempo and other big monopolies, the reduction in customs will be only of marginal importance. They will continue enjoying monopoly benefits, formal and informal. They will continue enjoying the protection of an Industry Ministry which is too keen when it comes to industrialists' interests. Even now, six weeks before the lowering of tariffs, the ministry has hinted it would like to impose new barriers to imports competing with local industry. That type of mentality is not going to disappear on January 1. Not even in January 1989, when customs on goods from the Common Market are due to be removed completely.

IT WOULD be as well to start with an explanation. The object of these articles is to highlight some of the underlying trends in the Israeli financial sector. Specifically, it will be suggested that Bank Hapoalim is in the process of making some very serious mistakes in the way it is reorganizing its investment departments, at head-office and in the branches, and that Bank Leumi is on the right track and has a good chance of success, but this will depend on certain gambles paying off.

Furthermore, it seems likely that most of the small independent brokerage outfits, and certainly the self-appointed portfolio managers are going to be driven out of business in the next few years, and that as a result, if the authorities want to break up the domination of the financial sector by the big banks, they have a lot more thinking to do.

However, in order to reach any kind of conclusions on what is happening in Israel, there is no choice but to sketch in a fair amount of background from the world scene. Only then will it be possible to return to our emerging local environment. Since the underlying assumption is that Israeli developments lag, but ultimately reflect, international trends, anyone who believes that we are unique and impervious to outside influence can save time and stop here.

Ask any Israeli to define a banker and, after he has shot off a torrent of invective, he will probably come up with something along the lines of "someone who provides financial services." Financial services is a generic term for a spectrum of activities: from checking accounts, time deposits, long-term savings, investments, to loans of various sorts, financing imports and exports, and plenty more. And indeed, Israeli banks do all these things, because they act, and have always acted as "financial supermarkets" - a place where a large variety of services can be found under one organizational roof.

In international terms, this structure is derived from the European models, notably places like Germany and Switzerland, where the banks have long had similar domi-

## AGE OF THE MAMMOTH

Pinhas Landau describes the changing nature of 'financial services' - a world trend that Israel's banks cannot afford to ignore.

nance. In Britain the banks have also been active in a large number of fields, but until recently they weren't involved in everything.

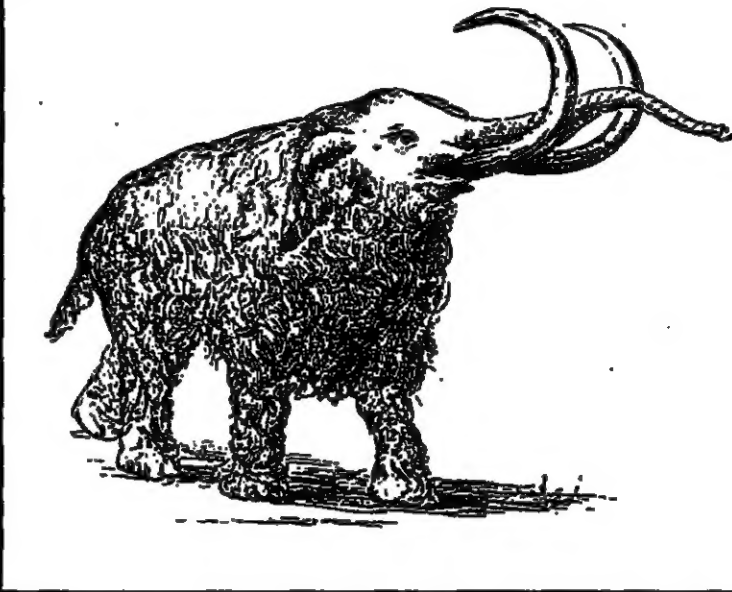
It was in post-depression America that things were demonstrably different. In the wake of the 1929 Wall Street crash, a series of laws was passed whereby financial services were compartmentalized: Commercial banks were not allowed to engage in investment banking, insurance companies could not own banks, or vice versa, banks were limited to operations in one state only, stockbroking was split off from other businesses, and everything was very strictly regulated. In effect, every one of these areas of operation became a separate business.

IN recent years, the world financial scene has been dominated by sweeping deregulation, meaning that the barriers between the different sectors have been broken down. The most dramatic example of this process, perhaps, was the "big bang" on the London Stock Exchange last month. The driving force in this, as in similar developments in other countries, was the emergence of a global market in most financial instruments which itself rested on technological advances that made instantaneous information available everywhere and fulfilled, for at least some of the financial markets, most of the key conditions laid down in economics textbooks for "perfect competition."

What this trend meant for individual companies was that they could no longer remain independent entities concerned with limited activities in small niches of the financial world. Merrill Lynch, for example, could not merely act as a stockbroker and underwriter in the U.S. markets. It has to be active in Japan.

Europe and elsewhere, and not just in equities but in bonds, options, futures, and a rapidly-growing host of financial instruments that are being traded round the world. It also has to offer its customers interest on their idle funds, as well as loans to buy stocks on margin. It has to advise individuals and corporations on how to invest in the ever-more-complex markets, and advise companies if, when, where and how to float their shares or bonds. Investment vehicles have become more and more interlinked, and customers' needs are perceived to include not merely shares and bonds, but also life insurance, pensions, savings, even real-estate. The concept of "financial planning" as an overall system of covering an individual's or corporation's total financial needs and capabilities, has come to replace simple investment counselling, which concentrates on which share or bond to buy or sell at a given time.

In short, there are now more markets, trading more kinds of instruments, in more places, and at a much greater degree of sophistication. To encompass all these developments, massive financial conglomerates emerged, as the older specialized firms merged. To take another American example, American Express had been an international bank with famous credit card and traveller's cheque services. It acquired a major insurance operation, Fireman's Fund; it bought Shearson Loeb Rhodes, the fastest-growing retail brokerage firm on Wall Street; later it added Lehmann Brothers, one of the best-known investment banking firms in New York; and Republic National Bank was another major acquisition, along with a string of smaller local brokers and other units. The result is a mammoth entity, divided into va-



rious sub-units according to their specialization, but all interlocking, so that the staff of unit A can offer services and products of units B, C and D, or at the least, can pass his client along to colleagues in other units.

The corporation cannot be left in a position where it doesn't offer - in one form or another - the main services that customers want and need. From the point of view of the individual employee, however, this doesn't mean he has to be abreast of everything being done in every unit of the firm. He will, in fact, be fully-stretched just doing his own job properly. For example, if he is involved in corporate loans, he should be an expert in that field, and have a strong background in the closely-allied area of corporate bonds, which is an alternative form of borrowing money. This alone encompasses bank lending, the corporate CD market, fixed - and floating-rate medium and long-term bonds, as

well as more sophisticated stuff such as swaps of various sorts. If, as is commonplace, his corporate client is active internationally, and certainly if it is a multi-national, he should know a fair amount about currency exposure and the risks and opportunities of borrowing in various currencies and in different markets around the world.

If he is good enough to master all that, he certainly won't have time or ability to be on top of the equity markets at home and abroad, much less act as an insurance agent, or be in a position to handle his client's purchase or sale of an office block in Manhattan, London or wherever. His firm, though, will seek to provide all these facilities as part of its total operation, and therefore he will only have to know where, and with whom, to put the client in touch. The same holds true, in reverse, for his colleague in the equity-trading department: He will be expected to be an expert in his field and closely-

allied ones, and have sufficient general knowledge to know the kind of things that are available in other areas, but will only be required to pass along his client to the expert in the relevant field, who will give in-depth assistance.

THIS pattern of corporate conglomerates in the financial sector, that have gone well past the old "supermarket" concept and are now into "department store" activities, has become the norm around the world. There are fewer and fewer independent specialist firms left, because the resources needed for a worldwide presence, even in a limited area of the markets, are too large for small firms, and also because most customers want comprehensive service from one institution. If we therefore assume that this pattern must emerge in Israel, we will not be positing any revolution, merely a falling into line with accepted practice elsewhere.

There is, however, another important aspect of the conglomerate approach. We have noted that the different units making up the conglomerate are usually self-contained, in managerial and profit-and-loss terms, and co-operate with each other to their mutual advantage, since they do not, by and large, compete but rather complement each other. Because they are engaged in different activities, they attract different kinds of staff, when they pay on completely different bases - and this is the point that needs to be stressed.

Let's go back to our example of the corporate loan expert in the commercial banking division and his colleague, the equity trader, in the brokerage unit. Both, we assumed, are experts in their field, and the conglomerate's customer needs each of them at one time or another. They are not competing rivals, therefore, and if they are both successful they will both be happy, as will their employer. Nevertheless, the share trader will make much more money than the banker. In fact, they won't even be on the same pay scale. It is important to understand why.

In an article in last Friday's *The Jerusalem Post*, figures regarding

American banker's pay were quoted from *Institutional Investor* magazine. These showed that the top men in successful commercial banks in the U.S. were getting total remuneration last year in the order of \$1-1.25 million. Investment bankers got consistently more than their commercial colleagues. But the really interesting figures in the *Institutional Investor's* list concern people who are not senior executives in their companies, but simply brokers - either retail or wholesale. Consider the following examples:

Fred Berens, retail broker, Prudential-Bache, \$2m-plus.  
Gary Eder, retail broker, Paine Webber, \$1.3m.  
Gedale Horowitz, municipal bond chief, Salomon Brothers, \$3,281,534.  
Stephen Karelitz, retail broker, Shearson Lehman, \$1.3m.  
Alexander Papamarkou, retail broker, Papamarkou Petra, \$2m.  
Robert Schoental, fixed-income sales and trading chief, LF Rothschild, Unterberg, Towbin, \$1.7m.

These are just a few among many, the ones whose pay the magazine confirmed. But when Wall Street booms as it did last year, there are a lot of brokers who make seven-figure pay cheques, while their banking counterparts get a bonus at best, and a promotion in any event, when their firm does well.

The principle that these figures are expressing is that you don't award the same pay, on the same basis, to different people doing entirely different jobs. And when it comes right down to it, banking in all its forms is one kind of job, attracting a specific kind of person, while broking - of real-estate, equities, insurance or whatever - is a totally different ball-game and therefore runs on different lines.

A conglomerate wants to provide both banking and broking to its customers, because that's what they demand. But that is not to say that a banker is or wants to be a broker, or vice versa, much less that they should get paid the same. Why that is going to become so important in Israel will be explained in the next article.

This is the second in a series.

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## Up against a deadline

Beverlee Black

CONTRIBUTIONS to *The Jerusalem Post* Toy Fund are not pouring in as we anticipated. And the days to Hanukka are quickly slipping by.

It is difficult for an adult to remember just how meaningful even the smallest gift can be to a child; especially when it may be the only gift he/she will receive. One look at the face of a child who has been left out tells how much hurt can be inflicted by the sin of omission.

We want to make sure that no child in a hospital or institution will feel left out at Hanukka or Christmas, as well as all the children who are in foster care throughout the country.

Please get your contributions in as early as possible.

The first real big winter rains and the drop in temperature have helped to make people more aware of the needs of the elderly, many of whom must receive extra blankets and heaters if they are to withstand the winter chill.

The needs of the elderly are growing daily and though we are gratified by the increasing response to our appeal for funds, more money must be raised to maintain and expand existing services.

Please mail your cheques to both funds today to *The Jerusalem Post* Funds. P.O.B. 81, 9100 Jerusalem.

### Toy Fund

NIS 375 "I.C. Jerusalem."  
NIS 150 in memory of our friend A.V. - D.S. and M.S. Pessah Tilva. In memory of my beloved parents, Moïse and Malka - Anonymous.

NIS 120 Hava and Karl Reich. Ramat Gan.  
NIS 110 in honour of an exceptional personality, Mirjam Engel of Kibbutz Netzer-Sereni, on the occasion of her 80th birthday; may she remain healthy, happy and busy until 120.

NIS 100 For our dear friend, Lex Levine, in honour of his 80th birthday - Pinna Rosin, Adela Kaminsky, Isobel, Bernard and Russell Myers. Elstein Family. Jacob Hirschberg. Ramat Gan.

NIS 97.50 Anonymous. Jerusalem.  
NIS 90 in honour of our dear friend, Herta

Fina, on the occasion of her 80th birthday - Lucie Bergen, Kfar Sava. Kathe Leuchter, and Grete Cohn, Nahariya.

NIS 75 "For Jani's birthday."  
NIS 60 in honour of the 80th birthday of our dear friend, Herta Fine - Berthe Schalk and Les Pollak-Redlich, Nahariya.

NIS 50 in honour of my dear friend, Herta Fine, for her 80th birthday - Liel Back, Nahariya. Linda and Avraham Shimon, Herzliya. Walter Frazekel, Haifa. Loren Weisner, Ramat Gan. Shoshana Kaufman, Jerusalem.

Otto Steiner, Side Warburg. Anonymous. Violet Gluck, Sayoon.

NIS 36 Lamed Vav (2 x Hai). Ann Firestein, Jerusalem. In memory of Anne and Joseph E. Feldman - Susan Reiter, Haifa.

NIS 35 Anonymous. Tel Aviv.  
NIS 25 in honour of my childhood - Anonymous, Kfar Sava. In honour of Kaethe Leuchter, on the occasion of her 80th birthday - Leni Heymann. In honour of William and Salia Bender, may you continue for many years in your worthwhile undertaking, and it should be blessed with success - Molly and Irving Kreider, Netanya. In memory of my late husband - E.B.

NIS 20 "For Sam." - Jacques and Joyce. In memory of Esther Korenthal - Kathleen and Samer Wolpe, Brookline, MA. Alfred Klein, Jerusalem. Family O. and Th. Iselin, Winterthur.

NIS 18 in honour of my dear father, Bernard Seidenman, Toronto - R.M., Jerusalem. In ever-loving memory of Becky Sacks, 10.11.85, first yahrzeit - R.M., Jerusalem. Happy New Year to Sue - Anonymous, Kfar Sava. Goldmann Family, Jerusalem. In gratitude for avoiding an accident - Anonymous, Kfar Sava. In loving memory of my father-in-law - Anonymous, Kfar Sava. Libby Rosenberg, Bat Yam.

NIS 15 Susan Azoules, Jerusalem. Anonymous. Jerusalem. To honour the 90th birthday of Anna Schumacher of the Herta Solomon Home for the aged of Brooklyn, NY - Fay Karp, Kibbutz Galon. In memory of my beloved husband, Mendel Ehrmann - Ety Ehrmann, Tel Aviv.

NIS 10 Hilda and Joe Tishler, Yokneam Pituq. Anonymous, Tel Aviv. Yahrzeit and Iskor guest for my parents, Abraham and Dina Rottman - Berthe Rottman Nizman.

NIS 5 Mr. and Mrs. S. Rosenstein, Netanya. Loni and Aaron Levin, Netanya.

5756 - 42 a bar in loving memory of my dear parents, Sarah and Max Storper and my dear sister-in-law, Natalie Reichlin Storper and in honour of the Israel Defence Forces - Bernard S. Storer, New York, NY.

\$200 Grateful to Israel, Jai Dotset, Oslo, Norway.

1107 Anonymous, New York.  
1100 Anonymous, Jerusalem. Rabbi David and Chana Golinkin, Jerusalem. In honour of the 9th wedding anniversary of our parents, Paul and Shirley DeLillo, West Orange, NJ. In memory of Mr. and Mrs. William Wolman, Toronto, Canada - Sandra W. Moss, Metuchen, NJ.

895 Anonymous, Cincinnati, KS.  
\$50 Gale and Edith Williams, New Market, IA.

In loving memory of parents, Markus and Litscha Zankis, Wife Gladys, Brother Max and Sister Dora - Josef Zankis, Topeka, KS.

Anonymous, West Rio.  
\$40 Louis and Blanche Carr, Houston, TX. Anonymous, New York. Celia Goldschmidt, Moshev Hemed.

336 Leon and Millie Levy, Conant Station, NJ.  
\$35 Janis McGilguy, Thayer, IL.

\$30 Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Frits, Cape Town, S. Africa. In honour of Kahan Efrain, Acco - David Kahan, Troy, MI. Rachel Ziedell, San Diego, CA.

\$25 Harold and Esther London, Worcester, MA and Haifa. In loving memory of Husband and Father, Abraham Weinberg - Wife Anna and Daughter Ruth, West Roxbury, MA.

\$22 In loving memory of mother and father, Rebecca E. and Harris M. Robbins - Edna and Lee Connors, Sharon, MA.

\$20 Frances and Hanna Gavriel, Fair Lawn, NJ.  
\$18 Dr. Ruth Eszes, Kew Gardens, NY. In memory of our parents - Philip and Miriam Shore, West Roxbury, MA.

\$10 In loving memory of my father, William Feldman - Mariel Feldman, Forest Hills, NY. In memory of Deborah London - Dr. Markus Matzner, Edison, NJ. Anonymous. In memory of my husband, Sol E. Cohen - Lorraine Cohen, Flushing, NY. The best of Happy Birthday wishes to Milton Fleiss, Jerusalem - Yehuda.

\$5 Andrew and Marcianne Kane, Kew Gardens Hills, NY. Temple Beth Hillel Rabbi's Discretionary Fund, South Windsor, CT. Ellis Maurice Cohen, Delano, Italy.

Can\$100 Grateful for the recovery from illness of Dr. Bernard - his wife, Stephanie Porzanski, Powell River, Canada.

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\$25 In loving memory of Kitty - Aaron.

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NIS 75 "For Jani's birthday."  
NIS 50 in honour of the 80th birthday of my friend, Kate Leuchter, Nahariya - Dr. Greta Weidenbaum, Jerusalem. Walter Frazekel, Haifa.

NIS 36 Lamed Vav (2 x Hai).  
NIS 35 Anonymous, Tel Aviv.  
NIS 30 Ludwig Bornstein, Tel Aviv.

NIS 25 in honour of my grandchildren - Anonymous, Kfar Sava.  
NIS 18 "For our health."  
NIS 15 Anonymous, Jerusalem.

NIS 10 Anonymous, Tel Aviv. Hilda and Joe Tishler, Yokneam Pituq.

\$106 6 x hai in loving memory of my dear parents, Sarah and Max Storper and my dear sister-in-law, Natalie Reichlin Storper and in honour of the Israel Defence Forces - Bernard S. Storer, New York, NY.

\$101 To Dad and Ann, wishing you a very happy marriage - with lots of love, Linda.

\$24 x hai in honour of our grandchildren, Rebecca, Jennifer and Roger - Donald and Shirley Oppenheimer, Skokie, IL.

\$20 Bickel Family, Brewster, CA. In memory of our beloved father, Rabbi David I. Golovsky, and in honour of our nieces, Yael and Michal-Mimi and Bill Marder, Palm Beach Gardens, FL.

\$40 Louis and Blanche Carr, Houston, TX.

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\$22 In loving memory of our cherished little granddaughter, Joanna Allison Connors - Edna and Lee Connors, Sharon, MA.

\$20 Hana and Frances Gavriel, Fair Lawn, NJ. Kahan, Troy, MI.

\$18 In honour of the bar mitzva of Matthew Vofsi - from his friend Kenneth. In his birthday - with love from Aunt Hana and Uncle Dave.

\$10 Anonymous. In honour of my grandchildren, Esther Shalmit and Daniel Isaac-Meir Olney - Lorraine Cohen, Flushing, NY. In memory of my in-laws, Oscar and Nettie Landman - Rose Lieberman - Martha Loewen - New York, NY.

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SAR126

כסא מן האל



# ECONOMIC NEWS

## MARKET PLACE

PINHAS LANDAU

### Against the flow

The bank shares continue to fascinate. They represent one of the great paradoxes of this country. If they are so good, why are they so bad? How can they be so bad, if they are so good? And so on, round and round, apparently until October 1988.

What's good about them? First that they offer an amazingly high 16.5 per cent yield per annum for a period of less than two years. That is not only three times what a dollar deposit would offer for the same period, it is pretty close to what an unlinked shekel deposit pays at the moment. But then, the second point is that the bank shares are linked to the dollar as well, so that if there should be a devaluation of whatever size, the bank share holder is protected.

Then you have liquidity - you can sell at any time, because the things are traded in the market. Furthermore, the Bank of Israel has undertaken to buy them if the price seems right to it, so that there is some kind of floor underneath the yield level - it is unlikely that yields will go much higher than the 16-17 per cent level that we have seen of late.

But if they're so good, why doesn't anyone want them? The stock answers are that there are still grave doubts as to whether the government will really come good on its obligation to bank share holders and that higher nominal yields are available on unlinked shekel deposits. Dollar-linked vehicles are generally out of favour, and therefore when you take everything together, the bottom line is negative, or at least too risky.

And so on. This argument is now over three years old, and has two years left to run. The one undeniable fact is that everyone who bought bank shares at yields of more than 15 per cent any time in the last three years (let alone at 18 or 24 per cent, which also happened), has very little to cry about, even if you measure his returns in shekels, or yen or anything else that takes your fancy.

Rarely have contrarians - the people who make it their business to swim against the tide - been so consistently proven right and the consensus approach been so consistently wrong. Compare that to the years leading up to the eventual crash. Then the consensus was that bank shares - under the regulation - were excellent investments, and the consensus was right. The contrarians who turned their noses up at the gigantic and apparently risk-free returns were wrong all the way along. Until, just once, the consensus was wrong and the contrarians were right.

Since then, the only people who have bought bank shares are those who can consider them rationally, and are prepared to buck the accepted wisdom, and believe the government will come good, because it has no choice.

An important development recently in connection with the bank shares has been something that didn't happen. The latest mystery in this most enigmatic of stories is why the Bank of Israel and the Treasury made such a big noise about their intention to start buying bank shares in the market when it suited them. The reality hardly justified the paper that the press release, made in late September was printed on.

"Through the end of October, the Bank of Israel expended the princely sum of about \$750,000 on open market purchases, despite the very high yields and the large number of days on which offers rather than bids appeared. Compared with the \$5 billion-plus redemptions coming up, this is slightly less than a drop in the ocean. So why did they do it? To encourage people to buy? If so, then so far, at least, those who took their hint have done rather better than they themselves.

Finally, the idea has finally surfaced officially that had long been mentioned by academics and analysts as a possibility. This is to float government companies by selling their shares against bank shares. Israel Chemicals is apparently toying with the idea. It should seek to develop it and then fight to push it past the inevitable opposition from the hide-bound officialdom that saddled the country with the disastrous "arrangement" in the first place.

## Tadiran to acquire Elisra

By DAVID ROSENBERG  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
American Electronic Laboratories plans to trade its controlling stake in Elisra Electronic Systems Ltd. to Tadiran Ltd., in exchange for a 6 per cent stake in Tadiran, the two companies said Wednesday.

AEL Chairman Leon Riebmman told *The Jerusalem Post* that the two companies had signed a memorandum of understanding on the share swap this week and that a full accord should be signed by December 15. Neither Riebmman nor a spokesman for Tadiran would place a dollar value on the deal.

Under the tentative accord, Tadiran, which already controls 41.3 per cent of Elisra, will acquire AEL's 58.7 per cent holding in Elisra, thus making it a wholly owned subsidiary. AEL's 6 per cent stake in Tadiran will be in newly issued shares.

Riebmman said, however, that although Elisra would be incorporated into Tadiran for financial purposes, it would continue to maintain its own identity as a separate company.

"The name Elisra is known around the world, so it's valuable to keep it," Riebmman explained. Bringing the two companies together should strengthen their

financial and marketing muscle, he said, as well as end the drain that money-losing Elisra has had on AEL's earnings.

A 31 per cent rise in labour costs, due to a combination of an effectively frozen dollar-shekel exchange rate and rising wages in Israel, is likely to result in a \$4 million loss for Elisra in 1986, Riebmman said. The loss is expected to cut AEL's earnings to 45 cents a share from 60 cents.

The spokesman for Tadiran said the company would post a sharply lower profit this year than the \$28.4m. it made in 1985. The company had not released an earnings forecast for next year, but any losses it may run up would not appear in AEL's consolidated results, Riebmman said, noting that was a major factor from AEL's side in going ahead with the share swap.

Both Riebmman and the Tadiran spokesman stressed that the two companies had complementary product lines, especially in the defence field, which made the deal attractive to both partners.

"To be really efficient and to encourage investment, Israel should encourage mergers. This is part of that [philosophy]," Riebmman explained, saying he had been advocating this strategy for Israeli com-

panies generally for many years. Both Riebmman and Tadiran's spokesman said, that despite plans to make the combined company more efficient, no staff would be laid off. Both Elisra and Tadiran have been paring back at their respective work-forces over the past year.

In spite of Elisra's losses Riebmman said that by other measures the company was performing well. "Our [orders] backlog has been going down, but it is still a healthy one," he said, adding that "sales will be higher next year by a good percentage."

Elisra had sales of \$60m. in the previous 12 months, while Tadiran's turnover came to \$570m. in 1985.

The U.S. electronics company GTE Corp. currently holds a 15 per cent stake in Tadiran. Under a long-term agreement with Koor, however, it's gradually reducing its holding, which was once 50 per cent, eventually to nil.

Walter Ruby adds from New York: AEL Vice President Jesse Riebmman said yesterday that the Tadiran acquisition saved Elisra from being shut down, a move he said was being considered by the company before-hand. Asked if the deal represented a setback for AEL, he said: "Absolutely not. We are very pleased and Tadiran is very pleased. This move benefits both our company and Israel."

## October inflation data due today

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter  
Wage earners will know today whether they will get a cost of living allowance in their coming wage packages.

The increment will be paid if the rate of inflation for October, due to be published by the Central Bureau of Statistics, is above the 2.2 per cent mark. Such increase in the cost of living would bring the cumulative rate of inflation since last June, the last time the C-O-L allowance was paid, to more than 7 per cent, the rate that triggers the payment of the increment to workers.

The Treasury is already resigned to an October cost-of-living rise above the 2.2 per cent mark, with officials predicting that the figure will be some 2.5 per cent. That would be the highest since April. The Finance Ministry has stressed that such relative high rate of inflation would not reflect in the pace of price increases, but only seasonal factors.

Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar said yesterday he would have preferred an inflation rate that would have obviated the need to pay



Yitzhak Shamir (Uzi Karan)

C-O-L allowances to workers. He warned that a high rate of inflation for last month may mark the beginning of a new period with a faster pace of price increases.

In a related development, the heads of the Manufacturers Association met with Prime Minister Shamir and presented him with a document detailing their demands from the government. The industrialists have been engaged in the last months in an intensive campaign to get from the Treasury larger export subsidies, especially for manufacturers selling to the dollar area.

The association's president, Dov Lautman, told Shamir that unless something is done to renew economic growth, economic stability would be jeopardized. The industrialists complained that export profitability had reached a low ebb and that the balance of payments could be soon affected unless steps were taken to increase exports, either through incentives or lower labour costs.

Shamir agreed with the industrialists that export profitability was too low, but he said the government's budgetary limitations should be taken into account in considering any aid.

## Kidron's office publishing unit makes U.S. debut

An office-publishing system developed by Jerusalem-based Kidron Digital Systems Ltd. made its U.S. debut this week at the Comdex computer show in Las Vegas, Nevada.

The system, called PageLINK, was introduced by Qume Corp., a California-based subsidiary of IIT Corp. that is marketing the system in the U.S. and Europe.

PageLINK is designed to support two to nine personal computers in an office environment, allowing them to cluster network to a single laser printer. Its software provides a wide range of publishing features in a single package. Although designed for Qume's LaserTEN printer, it can also operate with other similar models.

Kidron introduced the system on its own in Europe and Australia earlier this year.

Under a joint development, assembly and marketing agreement signed between Qume and Kidron in September, Kidron will market its equipment in Europe under its own name side-by-side with Qume. The agreement gives Qume exclusive U.S. marketing rights.

Founded four years ago, Kidron is regarded as one of the technological pioneers in the field of computerized laser printing and office publishing. Office publishing systems use personal computers and laser printers to produce printed material often on par with that set on more expensive photo-typesetting equipment.

## London exchange votes merger with securities body

LONDON (AP). - Members of the London Stock Exchange voted overwhelmingly Wednesday to merge with an international securities group, the exchange announced yesterday.

The vote was billed in advance as crucial to the future of the exchange as a major international market for the trading of company shares. Coming just 16 days after the "big bang" changes that went into effect October 27, the merger vote will help to create a technologically up-to-date, unified market.

Without it, the long-established stock exchange could have been in competition with the recently formed International Securities Regulatory Organizations for the growing world trade in shares of multinational companies.

The approval by stock exchange members comes at a time of continuing concern over the efficiency of the exchange's new computer system.

GOLD. - Some \$60,000 was raised this week for the Tel Aviv Cinematheque at a fund-raising dinner with Goldie Hawn as guest of honor.

## Pri Ze workers end sit-in

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter  
TEL AVIV. - The 250 permanent workers of the Pri Ze Growers Ltd. yesterday agreed to end their sit-in at the company's Hadera plant, after they received back wages through October 22, the day the company was ordered into receivership.

Pri Ze's court-appointed receiver, attorney Lipa Meir, obtained permission from the deputy district court president in Tel Aviv, Elyahu Winograd, to pay the wages. The funds to do so came from a \$100,000 loan from Bank Leumi, Pri Ze's biggest creditor.

In addition to abandoning their occupation of the factory, the workers also agreed in exchange for their back wages to cooperate with the receiver, and maintain industrial peace at the plant. Meir is now reportedly going to work towards resuming production at Pri Ze, as well as look for a buyer.

So far no serious bids have been made for Pri Ze, which is valued at about \$10 million. Pri Ze was forced into receivership when it was unable to come up with the annual, \$3m. guarantee needed to acquire its citrus fruit on credit for canning. It was the last in a series of problems caused by complications regarding its ownership.

Pri Ze's shares had been given by the kibbutz purchasing organizations, its last identifiable owners, to the now-defunct FIT brokerage. FIT, in turn, gave the shares on lien to the banks before FIT's two owners fled the country.

The plant, whose work-force swells to 700 during the height of the citrus season, produces citrus fruit concentrate, 90 per cent of which is exported to Europe. It had sales of some \$15 million last year.

## 'Post' to buy computer editorial system from Atex

Jerusalem Post Staff

*The Jerusalem Post* this week signed a contract with Atex Inc., of Bedford, Massachusetts, for the purchase of a computerized editorial system. The system, based on four computers and some 60 terminals is to be installed early next year. Full production of the newspaper on the system is planned for next summer.

Atex, a subsidiary of Eastman Kodak Co., is the world's largest supplier of computerized text-processing systems to the newspaper and publishing industries. The company has one other installation in Israel - *Ha'aretz/Hadashot* - based on older technology.

*The Post*, which pioneered the

introduction of computerized photo-typesetting in Israel, has been planning the installation of a computerized editorial system for several years. The new system will allow journalists to write and edit copy on screen, giving *The Post* what is known as a "paperless newsroom."

Several other Israeli newspapers have already introduced similar systems and the press in Britain is now undergoing a well-publicized shift to the new technology.

This technology also facilitates the establishment of a computerized archive which will improve *The Post's* already unrivalled standing as the most extensive newspaper data base about Israel, the Jewish world and the Middle East available in English.

## Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

### MARKET STATISTICS

Indices:			
General Share Index	122.24	+0.04%	
Non-Bank Index	162.35	+0.17%	
Arrangement	105.37	+0.04%	
Insurance	178.65	-0.95%	
Commerce, Services	204.32	-0.30%	
Real Estate	208.34	-0.30%	
Industries	146.95	+0.40%	
Textiles	207.19	+0.94%	
Metals	157.84	+1.09%	
Electronics	105.52	-0.01%	
Chemicals	138.94	+0.10%	
Industrial Invest.	135.10	-0.52%	
Investment Co.	135.10	-0.52%	
General Bond Index	113.73	-0.08%	
General A	139.00	7	
First Int'l	3540	1873	-
FBI	4254	2721	-1.2

### SELECTED PRICE QUOTATIONS

Name	Price	Volume	%	Change
Commercial Banks				
Bank Leumi	1180	4014		+6.8
General non-am.	20800	38		-2.1
First Int'l	3540	1873		-
FBI	4254	2721		-1.2
Commercial Banks (part of "arrangement")				
Bank Leumi	1180	4014		+6.8
General non-am.	20800	38		-2.1
First Int'l	3540	1873		-
FBI	4254	2721		-1.2
Mortgage Banks				
Leumi Mort.	8855	488		+3.8
Dev. Mort.	2455	480		-0.8
Mishkan	2450	407		-
Tafelhot	17559	487		+5.1
Mervit	6150	41		+0.8
Financial Institutions				
Agri. Co.	no trading			
Ind. Dev. DD	no trading			
Leasing O.I.	19000	5		+7.0
Insurance				
Ararat O.I.	1240	4089		-4.2
Hesheh O.I.	340	61231		+0.3
Phoenix O.I.	730	20910		-1.8
Hamishmar	7030			-
Mevoresh O.I.	2110	60		-9.4
Solih	5850	581		-3.3
Zion Hold. I	8511			+0.1
Trade & Services				
Mair Ezra	8800	1172		-2.9
Supersol 2	3195	2495		-
Delek	2178	59		-5.7
Lightage	24800	27		+1.0
Cold Storage	1880	245		+1.7
Dan Hotels	2880	42		+2.8
Yarden Hotel	27550	6		+1.5
Hilton I	1950	1158		+8.3
Real Estate, Building and Agriculture				
Azorim	no trading			
Elon	803	32446		-
Ariza Iaz. O.I.	28500	31		+0.5
Danilner	4579	357		+2.3
Prop. & Bldg.	3180	2831		-1.9
Bayside O.I.	4400	498		-4.3
ILDC r	59000	208		-
Rasco r	no trading			
Mehadrin	8540	545		-
Hadarim	1390	2344		-3.7
Industrials				
Dubek b	3380	638		-0.6
Pri Ze I	no trading			
Sunroist	10700	327		+8.0
Sita	17200	226		-
Adgar	560	7447		-3.1
Argaman r	no trading			
Delta G I	2890	688		+1.0
Maquette I	4560	731		-1.1
Polgat	13550	170		-
Schoellern	14000	35		-1.1
Rogosen	3200	1105		+1.9
Urban O.I. r	6840	103		+0.1
Idan Co. I	2530	2871		+0.8
Zion Cabot	2450	690		-
Packer Steel	11805	689		+10.0
Ebit	no trading			
Investment Companies				
IDB Dev. r	4775	5358		-
Elern	3330	1432		-
Afik I	220	3697		-3.5
Gahel	1380	142		-
Alia Corp. I	3900	1581		-
Wolfson I r	128500			-0.8
Hapoalim Inv.	5900	441		-1.4
Leumi Invest.	no trading			
Discount Invest.	4900	4900		-0.1
Mizrahi Invest.	15080	115		+0.1
Clal 10	872	4787		+0.2
Landeco O.I.	5250	11		+4.0
Pam O.I.	9250	67		-0.1
Oil Exploration				
Paz Oil Expl.	17000	319		-5.8
J.O.E.L.	3335	681		+0.3

Abbreviations: s.o. sellers only b buyers only r registered

## FINANCIAL DATA

### ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

SHEKEL INTEREST RATES  
PRIME BORROWING RATE: 1.58% per month  
Unlinked Deposit (Annual Rates)

	Last Updated	Tapas	Pakam 7-Day	Pakam 30-Day
LEUMI	13.11	7-16.00%	8-17.50%	8-18.25%
HAPOLIM	28.10	10-17%	11-17.50%	13-19.00%
DISCOUNT	17.10	8-16.50%	9-17%	14-19.00%
MIZRAH	8.5	8-16%	9-17%	14-19.00%
FIRST INT'L	17.10	10-17%	11-17.20%	13-19.50%

Rates vary according to size of deposit.  
(Tapas: demand deposit paying daily interest.  
Pakam: fixed-term deposit available from 7 to 59 days.)

### PATAH - FOREIGN CURRENCY DEPOSIT RATES (November 13)

	3-MONTHS	6-MONTHS	12-MONTHS
USD (\$100,000)	5.500	5.500	5.500
STG (100,000 pounds)	9.825	9.825	9.825
DMK (100,000 marks)	3.875	3.875	3.875
SFR (50,000 francs)	3.125	3.125	3.125
YEN (3,000,000 yen)	3.000	3.000	3.000

Rates vary according to size of deposit and are subject to change.

### SHEKEL FOREIGN EXCHANGE RATES (November 12)

	CHEQUES AND TRANSFERS	BANKNOTES	Rep. Rates
Currency basket	1,484.0	1,502.0	1,494.0
U.S.A. Dollar	1,482.3	1,500.7	1,452
Deutschemark	0.7338	0.7428	0.72
Pound Sterling	2.1034	2.1295	2.05
French Franc	0.2240	0.2268	0.22
Japanese Yen	0.00227	0.00241	0.00
Dutch Florin	0.0494	0.0575	0.04
Swiss Franc	0.8836	0.8946	0.86
Swedish Krona	0.2131	0.2158	0.21
Norwegian Krona	0.1978	0.2003	0.19
Danish Krone	0.1845	0.1869	0.19
Finnish Mark	0.0001	0.0003	0.00
Canadian Dollar	1.0720	1.0853	1.05
Australian Dollar	0.9667	0.9880	0.90
S. African Rand	0.0581	0.0663	0.43
Belgian Franc	0.0358	0.0352	0.36
Austrian Schilling	1.0422	1.0651	1.02
Italian Lira	1.0595	1.0727	1.03
Jordanian Dinar	—	—	4.



## THE JERUSALEM POST

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## Using Sharansky

THIS week, Natan Sharansky walked right into a trap laid for him by the PLO.

On Monday he was host at his Jerusalem office to a leading PLO supporter, head of the East Jerusalem-based Arab Studies Society, Feisal Hussein, who had come to discuss the expulsion order issued to Akram Haniye, editor of the daily *A-Sha'ab*. Mr. Hussein's idea, it seems, was to enlist Mr. Sharansky, well-known not only as a leading Zionist back in Soviet Russia but also as a champion of human rights generally, in the effort to block execution of the order.

Mr. Sharansky had not been told in advance of his guest's political orientation. He must have been offered a glimpse of it, however, when Mr. Hussein, according to his own version, stated at the meeting that the PLO alone could bring real peace. Mr. Sharansky bridled at the suggestion, pointing out that the PLO had applauded such terrorist attacks as the recent one staged near the Western Wall. But he did not cut the conversation short at that point.

It was only later that Mr. Sharansky realized what he had wrought. Wednesday night he read out a "clarification" on television, which was published in the papers yesterday. Blasting the PLO as an organization of cut-throats, Mr. Sharansky stated the meeting would never have taken place had he known that the Palestinian "delegation" was identified with the PLO.

The issuance of this statement was, however, preceded by a sustained assault on Mr. Sharansky from the political right, which reached its climax in a ferocious public denunciation of the meeting by Rabbi Haim Druckman, the NRP/Morasha Knesset deputy. Mr. Sharansky was told that he had given encouragement to loathsome terrorists, and by doubting the justice of Mr. Haniye's deportation had placed swords in the hands of Israel's bitterest enemies. And that he should make an immediate retraction.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Sharansky obliged in the way he did, thus allowing himself to be used, as it were, for the second time in one week.

The most famous one-time Prisoner of Zion came home only nine months ago, and it is unfair to expect him to be familiar with all the intricacies of Israel law and politics. He is evidently still unaware that the legal means used in putting down PLO terrorism derive from the most part not from the ordinary laws of Israel, but from a combination of Jordanian law — and ancient Emergency Regulations of British colonial origin.

Had he been aware of the fact Mr. Sharansky may have hesitated before proposing, in effect, that there can be no conflict between deportation by administrative fiat and respect for human rights.

By the same token, had he realized that those described by Rabbi Druckman, for one, as "inciters" fit to be deported include the majority of Palestinians under Israel's occupation, he may have slapped down the chauvinist cleric for his attempted denial to him of the right to doubt the justice of such deportations. That right is legally granted to every citizen of Israel, even where the High Court has sustained the legality of a deportation order — which, incidentally, the court is yet to do in Mr. Haniye's case.

Since his release from captivity and arrival in Israel, Mr. Sharansky has been an object of avid interest if not actual courtship by political parties of both the left and the right, all hoping he will join them and eventually represent them in parliament. Mr. Sharansky has so far manfully resisted these self-serving attentions, insisting that he needs time to make up his own mind on a host of things.

That right, too, is assured every Israeli citizen. It is offensive to try to terrorize Mr. Sharansky into being what he is not.

## POLLARD

(Continued from Page One)

ign bank-account. He was told by Yagur that \$30,000 had already been deposited in that account and that an additional \$30,000 would be deposited each year for the next 10 years. This money was to be in addition to the direct cash payments which Pollard received from Israel. Before his arrest, that sum came to \$45,000.

Playing on Pollard's long-standing ideological attachment to Israel, Eitan in the autumn of 1985 reportedly also had Yagur show Pollard an Israeli passport, bearing Pollard's photograph, in the name of "Danny Cohen." This was designed to reinforce the notion of Pollard's ideological commitment to Israel and to make Pollard feel better about himself and the operation.

It would supposedly encourage Pollard to believe that his services would eventually result in his moving to Israel. Eitan, the sources said, did not want Pollard to think he was providing the information strictly for money.

"It's an old espionage ploy," an Israeli source said. "You constantly have to reassure your spies. Their emotional state can become unstable. They can get very nervous. Eitan thought that the passport would help to ease Pollard's concerns. Occasionally, he showed signs of becoming very edgy about the whole thing."

Court documents described the passport as "a demonstration of gratitude for services rendered in that identified Mr. Pollard as a citizen of Israel." But other sources insisted that Eitan's passport decision was largely designed to reassure Pollard and ensure his continued participation in the operation.

Some persons were reportedly upset by what they regarded as Eitan's "heavy-handed" behavior towards Pollard. "Eitan really took advantage of him," a source said.

The civilian employee of the U.S. Navy was seen by these persons as very intelligent and deeply committed to Israel, but extremely naive about the darker side of espionage. "He was really pretty innocent and foolish about the whole thing," one Israeli source conceded. "He originally had no idea what he was getting himself involved in. His biggest mistake was trusting Eitan."

James Hibe, the lawyer representing Pollard's wife, has insisted that Pollard never intended to harm

U.S. national security interests. His sole motivation was his personal love of Israel.

Other sources close to Pollard said that he had even refused to provide Israel with some information which he felt could hurt the U.S. This is said to have deeply angered Eitan.

Pollard was reportedly originally motivated to help Israel after seeing some very sensitive information come across his desk involving potentially alarming security threats facing Israel. In the spring of 1984, Pollard served as a watch officer for the Anti-Terrorist Alert Centre in the Threat Analysis Division of the Naval Investigative Service.

He reportedly quickly discovered that while some of this information directly involved serious threats to Israel, it was not being passed along to Israel through official channels. Pollard, on his own, decided to give it to Israel.

Through a friend in New York, he was reportedly introduced to Sella later in 1984. Sella was then on leave from the Air Force, studying at New York University. It was Sella who subsequently introduced Pollard to Yagur and Eitan.

Eitan, who until the mid-1970s was a high-ranking Mossad operative and who had been personally involved in the capture of Adolf Eichmann, later reportedly became the head of Lekem, the Defence Ministry's scientific intelligence-gathering unit which has since been disbanded.

Eitan, forced out of his intelligence job after Pollard's arrest, is today head of Israel Chemicals, the largest government-owned firm in the country. Yagur, also forced out, works for Eitan there.

Pollard, arrested by the FBI outside the Israeli Embassy in Washington on November 21, 1985, after he and his wife had sought political asylum but were turned away by embassy officials, pleaded guilty last June 4 to the U.S. government's espionage charges. He is currently in jail, awaiting sentencing.

His wife, who pleaded guilty to a lesser charge of unauthorized possession of classified documents, is also awaiting sentencing. She, however, has been released on bail. Sentencing for both has been repeatedly postponed. There is no indication when the judge will reach his final decision on the matter.

ANNE Henderson-Pollard has just undergone a major intestinal operation. She is recuperating very slowly in Washington.

Her husband, Jonathan Jay Pollard, is confined to a small cell in a maximum security prison somewhere in Virginia. He remains isolated from other prisoners because he has received several death threats from neo-Nazi hate groups.

Almost a year after they were arrested in a major spy scandal that blighted U.S.-Israeli relations and completely upset their own lives, they are still awaiting formal sentencing.

Last June, Pollard entered into a plea-bargaining arrangement with his U.S. prosecutors, pleading guilty to the espionage charges in the hope of winning a reduced sentence.

His lawyer advised him to plead guilty, in part because the Israel government — as part of its own damage-control effort to avert a major political crisis with Washington — had provided the U.S. with considerable hard evidence implicating him in the espionage operation. Numerous documents with his fingerprints, for example, were returned to the U.S. Therefore his defence would have been virtually impossible. At the same time, U.S. law-enforcement officials conceded that their case against Pollard would have been much more difficult without Israel's help. Israeli officials later boasted that their cooperation in this kind of espionage scandal was "unprecedented" in diplomatic history.

Today, Pollard is still waiting to learn how many additional years he will have to serve in prison. Mrs. Henderson-Pollard pleaded guilty to the lesser charge of unauthorized possession of classified documents. She has been released on bail and also has no idea what kind of sentence she will eventually receive.

Needless to say, this past year has been pure hell for both of them and their families. Her health problems have merely compounded all of their agony. Beyond that, they have amassed huge legal expenses which their families have been forced to try to cover. But there is simply no way they can. Her legal fees alone are already in excess of \$100,000. Pollard's are probably around the same.

Her father and grandfather — neither of whom is Jewish — have managed to come up with some of

## Pollard is paying for an error of judgment

Wolf Blitzer

the money, but still owe a great deal to her lawyer, James Hibe. Her mother, who is Jewish, is divorced from her father and does not have very much money either. Most of the funds used to cover her legal fees so far have come from her grandfather's pension fund. He is a retired mine worker.

Pollard has been helped by his father, a soft-spoken and respected professor at Notre Dame University in South Bend, Indiana, his mother, and other members of his immediate family. But there are real limits in their ability to cover these costs. They are not wealthy and have very modest incomes.

Thus, the financial and emotional strains have been very great on both sets of families. Their lives will never be the same.

A FORMER U.S. intelligence analyst for the Navy, Pollard, obviously blundered very badly when he agreed to spy for Israel, and stole classified U.S. documents.

The U.S. government, therefore, had every right to prosecute him. He broke American law and violated the great trust he had been granted by the U.S. government.

But at the same time, he certainly deserves better treatment from Israel, the country he served. This has not been Israel's greatest hour.

According to recent evidence and in contrast to the many earlier press accounts, Pollard initially acted not to make money but only to help Israel. He had a naive and somewhat romantic image of Israel and the

Zionist ideal — not all that uncommon for a young and intelligent Jew growing up in an isolated, largely non-Jewish community in the Midwest. He wanted to be part of the struggle to maintain Israel's survival and while in college and graduate school, often thought of making aliyah.

He apparently believed that the information he obtained was vital to Israel's security and, at the same time, would not really damage U.S. interests if made available to Israel. It was a bad error of judgment, but one that stemmed from his background as a Jew and Zionist.

Israeli officials have acknowledged that the information they received from Pollard was in fact very important and that some documents proved to be even critical. They were irritated and at a loss for words in trying to explain why the U.S. government did not provide that kind of information to Israel routinely through official channels.

They also confirmed that Pollard was not out to win financial rewards from Israel. His motivation was strictly ideological. As reported elsewhere in today's newspaper, it was Eitan, his chief "handler," who insisted on the exchange of money as a ploy to get Pollard more deeply involved in the operation. Young, inexperienced and naive, Pollard fell into that trap.

U.S. and Israeli intelligence experts have confirmed that the element of money made it impossible for the U.S. government to ignore the case.

As far as Israel was concerned, Pollard's motives were pure.

But he and his wife have been completely ignored this past year by the Israel government. It's as if the Pollards were lepers. No one wants to have anything to do with them.

DISILLUSIONED and depressed, the Pollards and their families have been very upset by the many allegations in the news media suggesting that Pollard was simply a self-promoter and braggart, out to make a few dollars by selling America's secrets to Israel. This they insist was simply not true.

The Israel government, in its effort to limit the damage from the scandal, has put forward a story that Pollard was part of an unauthorized "rogue" operation organized by Rafael Eitan, a former senior Mossad operative who more recently served as head of Lekem, the Defence Ministry's scientific intelligence-gathering unit. Reportedly angered by his being eased out of the Mossad in the mid-1970s, he wanted to prove to his former intelligence colleagues that they had erred. Even with a much smaller staff and budget, he could obtain vital information for Israel which they could not. He supposedly had a personal incentive to exploit Pollard for everything he was worth.

But according to the official Israeli story, using Pollard was Eitan's personal decision, unauthorized by his superiors. He had violated policy guidelines as Israel does not spy on the United States.

As a result, senior Israeli officials were supposedly justified by their subsequent decision to abandon Pollard completely after his arrest outside the Israeli embassy on November 21, 1985, and to hand over evidence against him to the U.S. government. It was reported that he had been told to come to the Israel embassy if he could "shake" the FBI's surveillance. He tried and failed to elude them. He was a big boy, got caught and would have to pay the price. And Israel was going to let him twist alone in the wind.

Israeli leaders, while embarrassed, concluded that it was unfortunate that Pollard and his wife would have to suffer for their indiscretion. But everyone had to realize that there was the more important issue of U.S.-Israeli relations at stake.

Pollard, despite his feelings for Israel and his acknowledged service to it, would have to be sacrificed for the bigger picture.

BUT Pollard did not regard the operation as "rogue." After all, he had dealt with senior officials — namely, Eitan, and, according to American reports, Col. Aviem Sella, a high-ranking Israel Air Force officer, Yosef Yagur, an Israeli embassy science counselor, and several others. He had been warmly received during a visit to Israel in the summer of 1985 where he met with other Israeli officials. He had no reason to suspect that his involvement was unauthorized by the highest echelon of the Israeli government.

In fact, he had been repeatedly told that the opposite was the case — that the most senior leaders in Israel were indeed very grateful to him for his service.

Whether or not the Pollard operation was really unauthorized has become somewhat of a moot point. By the way, few U.S. government officials believe it was unauthorized. They suspect that Eitan was doing what he was supposed to do and that his appointment to head Israel Chemicals, the large government-owned firm, was his reward.

As one of his final acts as the Israel embassy's No. 2 diplomat in Washington, Elyakim Rubinstein, the new cabinet secretary, met with Bernard Henderson, Anne Henderson-Pollard's father, and heard his very sad story. There is reason to believe that Rubinstein was touched by the personal tragedy that befell the Henderson and Pollard families. But no promises were made.

A year after the scandal erupted, it's time for Israel to do something to help the Pollards. A good start would involve the payment of their legal fees. Pollard was employed by the Israel government when he was arrested. It's the least any employer should do for a loyal and dedicated worker.

Later, after their formal sentencing, Israel should consider using its political clout with Washington to try to free Pollard and to help him fulfil an earlier dream of moving to Israel — assuming he still wants to do so.

(The writer is The Jerusalem Post's Washington correspondent.)

## READERS' LETTERS

## CAR PLATE CODE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In your supplement, *Automotive* 87, of October 29, Yitzhak Okeid purported to have unravelled the mysteries of the licence plate.

I own a car with the licence number 18-932-86. According to Mr. Okeid's explanations, this would be: first digit from the left, 1 — licensed in Tel Aviv or central region; second digit from the left, 8 — commercial vehicle, tender or trailer; third digit from the left, 9 — station wagon or dual purpose vehicle.

In reality, my car is a 1300 DL Subaru limousine used exclusively as a private vehicle. The car was indeed licensed in Tel Aviv.

It seems that the mystery is still intact.

E. BARUCH

Beersheba.  
Yitzhak Okeid comments:  
The spokesman of Subaru (Elron Company) informed me that the numbers of the car plate are given them by the automobile licensing authority. Sometimes, when they run out of numbers for a certain area (like Tel Aviv), the licensing authority will give a number from a different area or a different type of vehicle.

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## GOODWILL NEEDED IN SOUTH AFRICA

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In his article entitled "A hard look at apartheid" (October 30), Joe Franklin takes issue with Ambassador Elihu Lankin and others in their defence of South Africa. Mr. Lankin's article, in fact, set out very well the factual situation in the country, even if Mr. Franklin may not agree with him. The latter's submissions are based on prejudice, bias and obvious ignorance.

It is the "in thing" today to climb on the bandwagon and attack South Africa. Double standards are employed in criticizing South Africa, although no country has a legitimate right to point a finger before thoroughly examining the moral standards it employs. It should be

remembered that people who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones.

The African National Congress wants nothing less than to grab power and establish a one-party Marxist regime, after which a one-man one-vote policy will not even be a slogan. Then the masses will truly learn the meaning of hardship and starvation. The problems in South Africa are extremely complex, as only those who are born and/or have spent most of their lives there can appreciate. The solution lies in the hands of all moderates. Change can and will take place, but it cannot happen overnight, although it can be hastened by goodwill on the part of all well-wishers.

J.S. GRUSS

## CANADIAN INDEPENDENCE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Why do Israeli organizations insist on including Canada as a (relatively insignificant) part of the United States? I have seen this carried to ridiculous extremes.

Several years ago, my son went to Israel for a one-year programme with Israel's aliyah department. The New York office insisted that he come to New York to join a "group" on an El Al flight to Israel. It took weeks of argument before he was allowed to join the same flight on his stopover at Montreal's Mirabel airport. The unnecessary expense of travelling to New York (only to come back to Montreal), plus the hassle of going through U.S. cus-

toms with a year's baggage did not register on them at all.

This summer, my wife and I considered another Israeli programme to encourage potential retirees to travel to Israel for a job-seeking trip, etc. For a doubtful and unspecified subsidy, we were, again, required to take El Al via New York. Only the outgoing shaliah, who was completing several years in Ottawa, understood our refusal to agree to this requirement.

It is about time that Canada's independence be recognized in Israel too!

YITZHAK KALIN

Ottawa.

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